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THE
P O L I T I C A L
A N D
COMMERCIAL WORKS

Of that celebrated Writer

CHARLES D'AVENANT, LL. D.

Relating to the

TRADE and REVENUE of ENGLAND,
The PLANTATION TRADE,
The EAST-INDIA TRADE,
And AFRICAN TRADE.

Collected and revised by

Sir CHARLES WHITWORTH,
Member of Parliament.

To which is annexed a copious INDEX.

V O L U M E V.

L O N D O N:

Printed for R. HORSFIELD in Ludgate Street, T. BECKET
and P. A. DE HONDT, and T. CADELL in the Strand,
and T. EVANS in King Street, Covent Garden.

MDCCLXXI.

THE
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AND
COMMERCIAL WORKS

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SIR CHARLES WILKINSON

Member of Parliament

to which is annexed a copy of the Index

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MDCCLXXI

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ESSAYS

ESSAYS
UPON
PEACE AT HOME,
AND
WAR ABROAD.

SECT. XIII.



Of the Executive Power.

THIS is indeed a copious subject, as comprehending all the several parts of government, except the legislature. Our constitution lodges the executive power originally in princes, who devolve such functions of it as they cannot perform in their own persons, upon the different members that compose a well-ordered commonwealth, of which the chief are called ministers of state; a name given in our records to the prime officers of the crown above three hundred years, though it has been caviled at of late.

In a government of the laws, and not of men, princes are a part, but at the head of the legislature, and either in person, or by their ministers, execute what the constitution requires, what the legislature already has ordained, and what it enacts from time to time upon new emergencies; and where all this is fully done, the administration is compleat.

In these sort of constitutions, he who receives a great trust has it committed to him in a fair and ample manner; he is free to pursue the dictates of his own reason and understanding; he is at liberty to make the laws the rule of his actions; and he is not bound to follow the bare command and pleasure of the Prince, which he cannot plead in abatement, if the state be damaged by his proceedings.

But all this goes otherwise in an absolute monarchy, under which there is no legislative authority but the Prince's will; he may have some slaves whom he stiles his ministers, but, as was said of Lewis the eleventh, "One mule carries him and his whole privy-council." Such as he employs are not allowed to judge for themselves what is right or wrong, they must oftener do what will please, than what is just and fit; and they must arrive at this knowledge, that blind obedience is the best skill in courts, where the master is, or would be, arbitrary.

And yet, where all stoop to the unbounded will of a single person, the executive power often proceeds well, and the government seems to flourish; but this happens when they have some Prince of more than common abilities upon the throne, who looks into all himself, and who is willing to let the weight of empire lie most upon his own shoulders; and if, at the same time, he chances to be a man

man of virtuous inclinations, as well as of deep wisdom, and is content, for the good of his people, to labour in the duties of his kingly office, to see with his own eyes, hear with his own ears, and to perform in his own person as much as possible, and takes care to entrust the remainder of his business to the ablest hands that can be found, his affairs of state will go well in general, and such a Prince will make his country prosper.

Whether the government be absolute, or limited, the happiness of its people depends very much upon their care that sit at helm, who, with some colour, may throw off from themselves, upon their master, male-administration, when his pleasure is the standard of good and ill; but they are left without excuse, when, by the nature of the constitution, they are not hurried into bad measures by fate and necessity in politics, but are left to free-will and choice, are allowed the lights of reason, and have full liberty to avoid the wrong and take the righter course. If such err out of ignorance, it is a sort of plea, but not to be allowed when their mistakes are gross and frequent; if wilfully, they have no pretence to complain when they are attacked, and fall under publick censure.

It has been a question among some, whether is most eligible, a tyranny administered with universal care by those who rule, whereof there have been and are examples, or a free state wherein all the parts of government are totally neglected, of which likewise many instances may be given.

Under arbitrary power, skilfully managed, the people, though oppressed at home, are protected from their enemies abroad; they groan under heavy taxes, but are brought to think they enjoy something for them; fame, victories, and an en-

largement of their dominions ; they are injured by the excesses of tyranny from above, but below are kept from hurting one another ; they are poor, but contented ; they have no domestick troubles and dissensions ; they may have foreign armies to engage with, but are in no great danger to feel the calamities of a civil war ; and they are, as the patriarch describes Issachar, “ A strong ass couching down between two burthens : and he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant, and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute.”

In the second case ; under a good constitution ill administered, that wealth, with which industry and trade seldom fail of blessing free countries, can never be accounted safe ; for their riches, which should protect them, bring their ruin on the faster, and are a temptation for their neighbours to invade them, when, through bad government, they are no longer in a posture to defend themselves. They are rarely without factions, by which their native strength is wasted ; and their fury is sometimes so deaf and blind, as to be striving with one another for power in the very moment when dangers are most impending from abroad. They are exposed to frequent civil wars, in which they lose their noblest blood and bravest men ; and becoming weak, quite corrupted, and wearied out with their own domestick calamities, nations born to liberty are compelled, at last, to resort for refuge to some superior power : and thus have tyrannies been introduced.

But, notwithstanding the mischiefs to which free governments, when weakly ruled, may be obnoxious, they are still preferable to unlimited authority, though placed in the ablest and most skilful hands ; for under the best of this sort of Princes,
the

the generality of the people are poor, oppressed, and without any prospect of tasting the fruits of their own labour. Besides, tyrannies are apt to decline from severe courses into cruelty, from wise vigilance into jealousies of state mad and sanguinary, from oppression into down-right plunder; and it is rarely seen that this kind of government grows from bad to better, its natural progress is rather from bad to worse; for high power is always afraid to set itself any bounds, as if it were like those intoxicating drugs which lose their operation if the dose is not increased from time to time. It is true, absolute dominion controuls parties, and is not often liable to civil wars, yet it is not exempt from mutinies in the camp, and defection in its armies: but indeed the most melancholy part of it is, that it is a disease that seldom or never mends, and consequently deprives men of hope, which, even to the happy, is an entertainment always new and pleasant, and to the afflicted, their most solid comfort.

They whom their own consent has once enslaved, are scarce ever known to break their fetters: if they have a severe government, growing worse every day, they must be contented with it; to struggle with their chains, fixes them on the faster; to make commotions tends but to render their oppressors more cruel, vigilant, and jealous; or if they can depose one tyrant, they do but change him for another.

But in countries where liberty is entire, under their worst circumstances hope is still left; whatever misgovernment they may have had, and however embroiled their affairs seem to be, while sense of freedom, that principle of a sound constitution in the body politick, is yet remaining, and when nature is thus strong within them, they may throw

off their distempers, and in time be restored to perfect health.

The most dangerous diseases with which a free country can be infected, are two factions, each strong in numbers, if their heats and animosities are come to such a height, that any side, in the struggle for power, is willing to give up liberty, rather than their irregular appetites should be disappointed. Where this happens to be the case, the condition of the publick is indeed very desperate, inasmuch as liberty cannot subsist, unless where it has a great many more friends than enemies, because they who attack, supply by craft and diligence what they want in other strengths.

But where countries are thus corrupted, princes have a noble field wherein to shew the honesty and virtue of their minds, by taking no advantage of the follies and madness into which men may be led by their ambition.

The nations round about us were enslaved, not by the prince's sword, but by their own flattery. It is notorious that the faction of the league, which had rebelled upon quite an opposite foot, gave the last stroke towards subverting the liberties of France, to make their court the better when they were subdued. After the restoration of king Charles the second, to atone for old faults, and to vie with the church who should be the best subjects, some were going to play the same game here, and, between the flatterers on both sides, the constitution had probably been given up, if the old cavaliers had not then made an unexpected and seasonable stand against those who began the war, because they thought (or pretended to think) that their civil rights had been invaded.

Where factions have been, and are suffered to be of long continuance in a kingdom, if absolute
dominion

dominion is not brought in, it is for want of an enterprizing temper in the Prince, or it is owing to his virtue, wisdom, and moderation; for the tools are ready, and the fire being hot, has made the metal soft and malleable, so that he may work it into what shape he pleases.

That nation is happy, where the Sovereign gives apparent proofs of desiring no more authority than what is intrusted to him by the laws: this puts a stop to the schemes wicked and ambitious men will be forming (if the least encouraged) to introduce arbitrary power; which attempts, in a free country, are perhaps the original of all disorder and misgovernment. But none will strive to make him absolute who does not wish so to be; and when this struggle is at an end, there is no substantial nutriment for faction to subsist on.

Executive power is, in plainer words, the administration of affairs, which can never be well administered when such bad designs are on the anvil; and from thence, generally speaking, have been derived most of the mischiefs that of late years have embroiled and divided England. When national interest has been neglected, was it not in order to court a foreign power, which might awe the people here at home? When the protestant interest was struck at, might not one of the prospects be to make room for a religion which better prepares the minds of men for slavery? When the publick treasure was wasted, did we not all see that a great proportion of it issued out to reward bold mercenaries, who made open assaults upon the constitution, or to pay pioneers, who wrought in the dark to undermine it? And thus secret aims at arbitrary power have had an influence, not only in these particulars, but well nigh in all the other male-administrations that have been complained of in this kingdom.

But when Princes have not this working and anxious thought to perplex their minds, when their ministers have not this load to bear, and when they are not in this wrong bias, which must always mislead them in their course, it is not so very difficult to go on in what is already well established; nor, on the other hand, to recover a state from the disorders past conduct may have occasioned: for though the cares of empire are almost numberless, yet there is no degree of comparison between their trouble who tread in the plain way, and theirs who tread in the crooked paths of government. The principal difficulties, fears, dangers, and jealousies, follow such as carry on an illegal, false and corrupt, not those who have no more to do but to support an administration that is right and honest.

It is not the good, but the bad business of a state, that is so irksome and unpleasant; the first takes up much time, requires diligence, labour, and application, but the other puts the mind on a perpetual rack; therefore an ambitious, and a wicked statesman, is himself a more miserable slave, than any of those whom, by the vicious arts of policy, he would reduce to bondage; and yet, both the great and little vulgar, who look no further than at his pomp, his riches, and his power, are so mistaken as to think him at the top of happiness; whereas, in truth, the best, most unblameable, and withal, the most fortunate minister that ever sat at helm (all his honest and necessary cares considered) is, in the thoughts of a wise man, more the subject of compassion than of envy.

Nor is the supreme condition of Princes so replete with felicity as the world is inclined to believe. What pleasures or comforts are there in life, which those in a much lower sphere may not enjoy, as well as they who sit on thrones? Which of

of their moments does not the publick claim? Are they not compelled to bestow most of their hours upon the business of the state? Notwithstanding what provision the laws have made to render their persons sacred, are they not in perpetual danger from the conspiracies and attempts of wicked men? Did not an enthusiast assassinate one of the best of Kings, surrounded by his guards, and in his capital city? And will not plots be sometimes formed against them that are not to be resisted by their courage, nor avoided by their wisdom? When misfortunes happen that reflect upon the honour of a nation, the weight almost singly lies upon the Prince; if they are such as hurt a whole country in the point of interest, as for example, losses at sea, by fire, plague, or famine, he bears the largest share, as having the largest share in property. The adversities of the commonwealth affect him in chief, and he has but his bare proportion in its prosperities: add to this, that he can hardly have any private recesses, and is allowed no private inclinations or friendships; that he must love, and hate, as most consists with the common welfare; that all he thinks, says, and does, must center in the publick; that if he endeavours to please the good, he must of course incense the bad, who are numerous, active, and full of clamours; and that frequently malice enlarges his faults, and lessens all his virtues.

When all this, and what else may be truly said on the same subject, is well weighed, it will not appear that Princes so abound in happiness as the vulgar think, or that there is much reason to repine at what it costs a people to maintain the kingly office; for where this trust is discharged as the laws of God and of the realm require, it fully deserves whatever taxes are paid by the subject under a legal constitution.

For

For all the hazards whereunto Sovereigns are exposed, for all those watchful cares which keep them awake, that others may sleep with more security, they enjoy but one essential advantage over the rest of human kind, and it is the power they have of doing good; this indeed is a noble prerogative, and the only jewel which should make a wise Prince think it worth the while to wear a crown.

Private men may excel in courage, or in wisdom, but though placed much above their fellow subjects, yet still their power of conferring benefits is, or ought to be, confined to certain limits, and they are still so low as to have a limited prospect; but from such an eminence as is the throne, they who stand upright upon it, and with careful eyes look round about them, may see, pity, and relieve the necessities of human kind, of which misgovernment is commonly the cause.

By extending their virtues, not at all beyond human reach, they may render millions of men happy, and so provide, that not many shall be miserable; and where this is compassed, civil government is as perfect as the narrow policies of man can make it.

And Princes may bring all this about by that power of doing good which they hold from the nature of their office; and when the administration of their kingdoms is so ordered, that publick liberty subsists, that religion is maintained in its due reverence, that vice is discountenanced and piety is encouraged, that national interest is pursued, and national honour is consulted, that the laws are preserved in their vigour and justice in its purity, that the subjects are protected from their enemies abroad and kept in peace at home, that merit is amply recompenced and crimes are severely punished,

nished, that sciences, learning, arts, trade and manufactures are favoured and promoted; in countries where all this is, and which are so ruled, much the largest share of the people enjoy plenty, peace and wealth; and they prosper still the more, as all these parts of government go on in a higher degree of perfection: so that this power of doing good is an unbounded pleasure, never wanting objects, and is the only solid recompence God bestows, here on earth, upon such who, by his providence, are allotted to bear the weight of empire.

And when Princes so exert their courage, wisdom and authority, that their people are thus well governed, they discharge their high trust, and perform their part of that executive power which is vested in them. But in regard it is impossible they should transact, in their own persons, all that appertains to right administration, they can neither render themselves nor their nation happy, unless they are served by honest and skilful ministers: so that, to procure the lasting fame of a good and prosperous reign, it is incumbent upon them, not only to excel by their own actions, but likewise to choose well, and afterwards to see that none of the great officers of state are defective in their duties, which seldom happens when they are overlooked with careful eyes.

When Princes and their ministers of state neglect nothing of what belongs to them, the subordinate and more ministerial parts of government grow better of their own accord, for the master-wheels going right set the lower in a true motion; and then the whole executive power proceeds as it ought to do in a well-ordered commonwealth.

And when things have gone amiss in a country, generally speaking, the fault lay in the administration; either the Sovereign was himself negligent,
or

or his ministers were ignorant, careless or corrupt : and so the distempers taking first the head, seized the principal members, and at last came to spread over all the other parts. It is true, they who sat at helm have been still wont to charge the temper of the Prince, the nature of the constitution, or to lay at the doors of fortune the errors of their conduct.

The first is indeed a plausible excuse ; for ministers have a very difficult game to play when the Prince's mind has an ill turn in it, when he is unable to act of his own head, and yet is unwilling to take advice from those that can set him right ; which made Richlieu (who had such an one to deal with) say, that he found it harder to manage himself in the Ruelle, than to govern all the rest of France. However, it appears from this instance, that an able statesman could so work, as, under an obstinate and half-witted master, to compass a wise administration.

But mismanagement can hardly plead in its own defence the nature of the constitution, of which, though some are more perfect than others, yet few models are so ill contrived, but that, as long as the rules prescribed by them are well observed, they suffice to carry on the principal end of society, which is protection ; and a minister gives the greater proof of his skill, when he can under-prop a building, so as to make it stand, though its foundations are decayed, and perhaps were never sound from the beginning.

As to fortune, it is the refuge of none but weak men to blame her, who, as Machiavel says, “ shews her power where there is no pre-disposed virtue to resist her, and turns all her force and impetuosity where she knows there are no banks and no fences to restrain her.” True
wisdom

wisdom so provides, that her attacks are ineffectual, or at least soon repairs any breaches she has made; and to say that divers states have been overthrown by the violence of fortune, is so far from being true, that no great empire was ever yet destroyed, but the very causes of its ruin may be traced out in its history several years before it happened.

And if it is asked how it came to pass, that so many commonwealths and monarchies have been subverted, the answer is easy; they did not sink under invasions, or perish by foreign force, till the way to conquest had been first opened by their own misgovernment.

But to come to particulars, and to examine into the original of these various mischiefs which have disturbed government, whence is it that there have been factions in a state? In commonwealths it was because they did not hold a strict hand over their great ones, and took no care to keep out corruption: hereupon the manners of the common people were depraved, and they followed those whom they thought most willing and most able to support them in their vices; and this first divided Rome. In a monarchy, parties thus took their rise; either the prince was weak, unable to exert the regal authority, and so private men grew upon him, and not being in a condition to suppress both, he was compelled to court first one and then the other side, as his necessities required, himself nourishing that disease, which, in the end, wasted his power; or, if he had false cunning, and meditated in his mind to overthrow the laws, underhand he encouraged parties, kept them equally poised, and suffered them to consume their strength one against the other, in hopes they should be both so impaired by their mutual strivings,

strivings, as to be unable to give him opposition, and thus to become master of the whole at last.

Whence came it that countries have been ruined by not consulting national interest? Either the Prince himself had bad designs, or, not being endowed with royal virtues, and destitute of wisdom, he committed the administration of his affairs to unskilful or corrupt hands.

Whence was it, that affecting arbitrary rule has so often thrown this kingdom into civil wars? The fault lay in the judges, who wrested law, and made it serve the turns of power, and in the ministers, who did not perform their duty in representing to the Prince the danger of such measures.

For whence have arisen those schisms by which the church has been so often rent asunder, but from neglect, or unskilfulness, in the general administration? From neglect, when the temple was suffered to be profaned by the licentious living, the pride, ignorance and vices of the clergy, which might induce many to separate from such whose lives they thought were a blemish to their doctrine. From unskilfulness, when the government has believed, that diseases of long growth could admit of a sudden cure, that, to sharp humours, it was better to apply corroding medicines than lenitives, and that persecution was the only way of reclaiming nonconformists from their errors.

What has most frequently been the cause of publick wants, but a complication of mismanagements, as well in the prince as in his ministers? He omitted his part, which was to overlook them, and his negligence produced their corruption; they encouraged profusion, as getting most by it, and he neglected œconomy, because it gave him present trouble. In governments ill administered,
publick

publick wants lead the way, but private poverty follows close after ; and when both happen together, which must always be the case at last, then is ruin near at hand.

Which way soever we look, when any thing has been out of order in a state, generally speaking, the mischief did proceed from some omission in the executive power, either from above, or from below ; when vice abounds, the laws against it are not put in execution ; when impiety and irreligion prevail, they have not been sufficiently discountenanced ; when there is an uncommon decay of trade, it is either not encouraged, or not protected ; when the law is tedious and expensive, some great corruption has been suffered to creep into the courts of justice ; in naval matters, when good conduct and courage are wanting, negligence and cowardice have met with too much impunity. Thus, in these instances, and in many others, which have been ever the subjects of complaint, as at first they were derived from a bad, so they are to be corrected by a better administration of affairs.

It has been observed long ago, that to have but few laws is the mark of a wise people ; of which perhaps the true meaning may be, that a wise people will be wisely governed, and that, in a wise government, the executive power proceeds so well, as not to be compelled, at every turn, to call upon the legislature for assistance.

Some countries have prospered many years, both in war and peace, without any written laws at all ; and the greatest part of the known world was so long ruled without them, that the word law (in the sense now used) is no where to be found in Hesiod, or in Homer. Perhaps it may be said, that in elder times the nature of man was not so depraved

depraved as it is at present, and that, as our vices first made laws necessary, so, as these vices increase, law must, from time to time, be more voluminous.

This is an uncontested truth. But the chief end of government is to prevent corruptions, and the fewer there are there will be need of fewer laws: so that to correct the manners of men does not so much depend upon the law-makers, as upon those who are to execute the laws already made.

But this will become clearer from an instance, than by arguing: as for example, the Spartans. This people flourished in courage, policy, military discipline, and all other virtues, so long as they strictly observed the laws and model of government prescribed to them by Lycurgus, from which they deviated very little for near 700 years; during which time they were the terror and admiration of all Greece. His laws were no more than what every citizen could repeat and bear in memory, and yet they served to carry on a better publick administration than was ever known: nor can it be alledged that this model was at first so perfect as to want no correction in after-times, for that would be to attribute more to him than to Moses, a law-giver divinely inspired; but the truth rather is, that a few laws, well observed, may be sufficient for the rule of any country.

Indeed this objection lies, that he banished riches from his commonwealth; that from great riches spring up luxury, strife, ambition, intemperance, murder, treasons, and all other vices and crimes against which laws are pointed; that a small country, whose manners plenty has not corrupted, is easily kept to its old constitutions, and seldom stands in need of new restraints or curbs; but that, in large empires, and rich soils, still more enrich'd
by

by trade or other acquisitions, and where vice increases as wealth augments, there new emergencies will daily arise, that, from time to time, require fresh exertions of the legislative power.

To all which this answer may be given, That it is not impossible to make wealth and virtue consist together: it has been seen in particular instances: several private men have been both rich and virtuous: a wise man brings this about by suppressing his appetites and passions: if it is to be done by a single person, why, by general wisdom in those who govern, is not the same to be compassed in a whole commonwealth, which is but a great body, composed of many individuals? why cannot the publick do that in the state, which a single man may do within himself? if the laws are an unequal match for vice, to what purpose are they made? But this can never be asserted while a state subsists; therefore, when vice is not suppressed, it is by reason that the laws are not put in execution.

All the great nations that we read of, as soon as they perceived that, either by conquest, foreign traffick, or by means of their own product, wealth flowed in among them, they made early provision to restrain, by wholesome laws, the two opposite vices, avarice and luxury, wherewith mighty empires labour, and which, as Porcius Cato said, prove at last their ruin. “*Diversis duobus vitiis, avaritia & luxuria civitatem laborare: quæ pestes omnia magna imperia everterunt.*” And while those constitutions remain in force, the commonwealth continues uncorrupted; but when this administration is slackened, the people run into those excesses by which their government is at last destroyed.

As well in great, as in less dominions, so long as old laws are maintained in their full force, vice will get so little ground, that new ones will be seldom wanted. It is certain when new distempers show themselves, fresh remedies must be applied, but such emergencies rarely happen in a state well governed; for the same Cato, in a speech before the senate, reckons up but three instances, down to his time, wherein recourse was had to the legislature to animadvert upon the growing avarice and luxuries of Rome, to wit, in the Licinian, the Cincian and Oppian laws: with so much care and wisdom were their affairs administered.

And this Oppian law is a proof how strictly their executive power proceeded. It was made to restrain the excesses of their women in jewels and apparel, but it was not like the sumptuary laws in England and other countries, forgotten as soon as enacted; for though it had been established in the heat of the second Punic war, while the state was poor, and though it almost levelled, in their dresses, the prime matrons with the vulgar, yet none presumed to break it: but the female sex, not brooking this severity when wealth abounded, were still compelled to apply to the tribunes of the people, that the constitution might be abrogated; which was done accordingly, though much against the sense of Cato, who saw further than the rest of the senate, and without doubt knew how much the repealing of one good law impaired the authority of all the rest.

When the publick is out of order, state empiricks prescribe new laws; but, as much physick destroys the natural, so too many of these remedies hurt the political constitution; and, as the bodies of men are best maintained in health, by exercise, wholesome diet, and a good regimen in living, so
states

states are preserved by active motions in the ministerial power, by wise and honest councils, and by keeping all the distinct members of the commonwealth to a just performance of their duty.

As much physick viciates the blood, so a multiplicity of laws depraves the manners of the people, and makes them lose that reverence to the publick, without which government cannot long subsist; for they are apt to believe their constitution itself very imperfect, when it wants so often to be mended. If it is faulty, it is a secret with which the vulgar should never be made acquainted, least they take in hand to give it a better form, who incline to think they have a right to intermeddle, when, above, all is out of order. But nothing can be a plainer evidence that it has material faults, than when the multitude see the legislature so frequently called upon to correct its errors.

It is respect that sustains empire, and enables a few to rule the many; but this respect is lost when opinion ceases of the few being grave, wise, constant, and almost infallible, for so, in their proceedings, they should be thought; but when they shew marks of lightness, that the result of their councils is such as must soon be altered; that their wisdom is not strong enough to root out any mischief all at once, but are forced to pull at it a second, a third time, and yet fail at last; that misgovernment increases as fast as the laws to prevent it are increased, the people begin to despise both the legislative and the ministerial authority; and this contempt produces factions, murmur, disobedience, sedition, and perhaps, in the end, a total subversion of the state.

Government is never upon a right foot, but when the sanctions of the legislature are so sacred,
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that it becomes hard to judge who are most afraid, the people to break the laws, or the ministerial power not to put them in execution : but to be thus venerable, they must not be enacted upon every slight suggestion, nor repealed with the same levity ; they must be few and effectual, esteemed from their weight, and not their number.

It is evident beyond all dispute, that, in states ill administered, where the fewest laws are observed, they abound most ; not that their corruptions require more, but their corruptions are the cause that so few are put in execution. And thus a languishing commonwealth, uneasy with its distempers, applies to law-makers for relief, but either quite throws away the remedies, or uses them so short a time that the peccant humours cannot be carried off, and growing worse and worse, calls out still for fresh prescriptions, which are all to no purpose, it being impossible to cure those who will neither take the physick directed, nor yet alter their course of diet.

But a government, conducting itself with equity, courage and wisdom, will rarely stand in need of these physicians, and so order the whole business of the publick, as to make it an equal matter of wonder among the people, to have a new law made, or to see an old one broken.

All which a good administration may bring about, by giving an early check to corruption and abuses, as they are seen to rise within the commonwealth ; or where they have already a large entrance, by drawing down the laws with all their force upon them. It is indeed less difficult to keep a right establishment from declining, than to work order out of confusion, to eradicate vices that have been fixed many years, or to make those capable of a wise and steady rule, who have been
so

so long misgoverned, that perhaps the majority, through interest or inclination, begin to like it.

In either of these cases, be the affairs of the publick upon a good, or a bad foot, the assistance of the legislature will, from time to time, be wanting to keep what stands upright from warping, and to straiten what is crooked. The nature of man leans more to vice than virtue; to suppress one, and promote the other, is the aim of laws, and the proper business of the legislature, which, when the commonwealth is distempered, must prescribe either purging or restoring medicines, but not so frequently that the body politick shall live upon this physick, and that strong cordials and high restoratives must become its only food and nourishment.

But though the constitution of a state may be so impaired, by time and accidents, that it can no longer stand, unless it is often mended and propt up, now in one part and then in another, yet it does not seem impossible but that a government may at least be so well managed, that the legislature shall not be necessitated to take upon itself, in a manner, all the executive power, and be compelled to interpose in the whole administration of affairs.

No doubt there can be nothing more dangerous than to mingle these two authorities, which, in a well-formed model, are in their nature so distinct, and cannot be confounded together without an entire change of the constitution; as for example, that of England is called a limited monarchy, but if the executive power assumes an authority to make laws, it then degenerates into tyranny: on the other hand, if the business of the state is always so mismanaged, that there lies a necessity upon the legislature to do what properly belongs to the executive power, the government must in time become

aristocratical, though here it would be most likely to end in a democracy.

However, suppose this confusion might be continued without hazard to the crown, which seems in the highest degree improbable, yet it brings so many difficulties upon princes, and their people, that it is with the utmost care to be avoided.

In the natural body, the head does not walk, the hands digest, or the stomach think, but each member has its proper and separate performances. It is the same in a state well regulated, whereof all the parts that compose it have their distinct and peculiar functions. Sovereigns, in their legislative capacity, with the other parts composing the legislature, ordain; what has been, or is, from time to time, thus ordained, they, their ministers and officers, put in execution; and when to all this the people give due obedience, the commonwealth is perfect.

But in a state whose affairs are out of order, all this proceeds quite otherwise; the legislature cannot consult maturely for the publick in making laws, by reason their time is wholly taken up with enquiries, and in performing that which should have been done by others; and the ministerial authority, terrified by a superior power, remains astonished and unactive, and having given offence by doing, or by being thought to do amiss, thinks to atone by doing nothing. In the mean while good princes, who desire to please their people, are uncertain how much of the executive power they shall leave to the legislature, how far they shall act themselves, and how much may be committed to their ministers: and what does this uncertainty produce, but an administration both impotent and careless?

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But it may be asked, are the law-makers to sit still and see a country ruined? If trade in general is neglected, or if any branch of it is not national, but destructive, are not they to take care it may be set upon a better foot? Does it not belong to them to punish abuses and corruptions in the courts of justice? Are they not to reform impiety, superstition, and vices, that creep into the doctrine and practice of the church? If the publick treasure is wasted or embezzled, are not they to examine into and redress this grievance? If the discipline of the navy, by former mismanagement and negligence, has been corrupted, does it not import them to put it in a right method? If the honor and safety of the realm has not been consulted or regarded in the administration at home, or in treaties and alliances abroad, are not they to interpose with sounder and better counsels? Lastly, Are not they to see that the ministers of state perform their respective duties, and, from time to time, to call such of them to an account, whose constant measures and proceedings denote them to be negligent, unskilful, or corrupt?

No doubt all this, and several more points here omitted, are the proper objects of the legislative care and wisdom, which is to intervene with its authority, as the matter requires, not only with representations and advices to the throne, but by offering new laws, when the fault or misgovernment can be mended no other way.

But the question will be, how far frequent exertions of this power are prudent, safe, and consistent with the nature of the constitution? and whether most of the errors in a state may not be redressed, though the law-makers do no more than overlook the ministerial officers? and whether such a general inspection may not be as effectual

towards restoring order and good government, as for the legislature to take upon itself the endless trouble of doing that which should be done by others?

When the law-makers transact the whole business of a state, for what can the ministers be accountable? or, when the executive power stands divided between ministers and one part of the constitution, is not the match very unequal? What courage can private men have to act in such a partnership? and must they not rather leave all to their management, who, collectively considered, are so much superior to them? If all is left to them (as cautious statesmen must think it their interest to do, when the legislature seems to desire it) then, as has been said before, the constitution is in danger of becoming aristocratical. But the case most commonly happens to be, that they do some things themselves, leaving others to the ministers of state, without declaring which shall be their part, and which not: from whence follows a making good of the old adage, that no body minds what is every body's business, and between them the general administration is neglected.

The great officers of a kingdom are rewarded with precedence, honors, power, and the lawful profits of their employments; for all which it is but fit they should proportionably labour in the service of the publick. If they are allowed to enjoy these benefits, and the law-makers must undergo the whole pains and trouble of government, the condition of ministers would be happy; but yet happier, if they are not accountable, as in reason they ought not to be, when others take in hand the business which belongs to them.

But this could never be intended in any wise constitution. That of England has annexed high
honours

honours and large emoluments to the respective functions of the ministerial power, and has given to each distinct authorities, of which doubtless the meaning must have been, that the state might know whom particularly to call upon, when the affairs of government were mismanaged.

It is a fundamental maxim here, that male-administration shall not excuse itself by pleading the prince's directions, pleasure or command, who can do no wrong; and it is full as reasonable to take from ministers all occasions and pretences to throw the blame of what goes amiss upon any other part of the constitution: nor can it be wise to let the people know that any part of the supreme power is capable of committing frequent errors.

But great assemblies expose themselves to the danger of often erring when they go out of their legislative capacity, and engage in the subtle and minute intricacies of the executive power, where all the corrupt members of the state think it their interest to mislead them, and obstruct their endeavours, that such good intentions for the publick may at last be defeated, as generally they are in the conclusion, after much time has been lost, which might have been employed in matters of real use and service to the commonwealth.

However, the administration happens sometimes to be so neglected, that there lies upon them an absolute necessity to interpose, or all must go to ruin. When this appears, and on such high occasions, they resort to extraordinary remedies, and supply with their own proceedings what is defective in the ministerial power, as the general of an army is now and then to fight with his own hands like a common soldier; but as to do this in every skirmish would be thought levity in a great commander, so, perhaps, it may not become the gravity

vity and wisdom of the legislature to engage in every trivial business of the state.

When the persons of men, or their crimes, are grown too big for the laws in their common course to deal with, or when they to whom the management of affairs is committed neglect their duty, or betray their trust, then is the proper season for the legislature to exert itself, upon which the imputation of assuming the executive power can never be fixed, while it undertakes no more than to intermeddle with what is either omitted, or with what is too strong to be encountered by the subordinate parts of government.

And the seldomer it is made use of, the more venerable this authority becomes; whereas, when the people are as much accustomed to it as they are to the common exercise of other powers, its enquiries, attempts to reform, complaints and accusations, are looked upon as things of course, and, from their frequency, grow not to be regarded by those who would maintain, and not be awful to such as would invade the constitution.

The legislature best preserves its weight when it attacks but one crime or one mismanagement at once: it preserves its weight, because, in this conflict against a single opponent, it may, and indeed always does prevail; whereas it runs the hazard of being foiled and defeated, when it goes about to contend with a multitude of enemies.

And in such single attempts, of first mending one thing and then another, it interferes less with the executive power, of which every part, either through fear, or through caution, is at a stand, when the whole administration is in a manner questioned.

To apply to the throne, and to call upon the ministry for redress of errors in the state, to com-
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mit to the government's care whatever it is able to compass, to help its omissions by advices or new laws when wanted, to think of mending by degrees, and not with such haste as cannot succeed; to leave no fault, vice or crime unconquered, when once assaulted, and to exert itself but upon great occasions, are, perhaps, the true methods of preserving to the legislative authority that due respect from the multitude, without which it is impossible to keep a free country from running into the absolute dominion of a single person.

Let ministers behave themselves with all imaginable integrity, let them be easy of access, courteous, willing to do good offices, ready to advance merit, faithful to the prince, vigilant for the state, and careful of the people, yet there is still something in eminent power so hated, feared or envied, that they can never act in such a manner but they must have many enemies: if they are active, they displease those who love pleasure more than business; if they are frugal for the country, they are not liked at court: their care of the people is called affecting popularity; for their good offices they are scarce thanked by those that taste the benefit, who are apt to think they deserve more, and they are forced to disappoint far a greater number than it is within their sphere to gratify.

But, not to contemplate the distinct stations of great men, let us consider a whole government together in its executive capacity. It is the duty of such as sit at helm to root out vice, to take care that furious zeal may commit no outrage, and that superstition may get no entrance; to punish immoralities, to see that the prince may not be secretly deceived nor openly plundered, to restrain luxury, to hinder parties from hurting one another
or

or the publick, to countermine against the dark workings of ambition, and to rule with such wisdom, that neither plenty nor wants may beget disobedience in the people; all which, and much more, is the business of a severe, steady, and right management.

But must not the doing all this contract many enemies? If things are ill-conducted, the good will be displeased; if well, the bad are discontented; so that it is impossible to govern in such a manner, but there must be a great number who will censure the management of affairs: besides, the state is never without some who may be called wanton enemies, who hurt it without malice, by reason they have nothing else to do, and because to find fault is the most pleasant subject wit can work upon, and a never-failing matter for discourse.

That authority should be thus maligned, in whatever hands it is lodged, may not one of the causes be, that we retain some thoughts of that equality wherein the race of men were placed in the free state of nature? that by submitting to laws, and the rules of society, man is inclined to think he has not so divested himself of his natural right, but that there still remains a claim, which he seems to put in when he finds fault with such as are above him.

From whence soever it proceeds, it is evident that, at all times, the exercise of power has been accompanied not only with the envy, but often with the hatred of those whom fortune has placed in a lower degree; all which they should bear without repining, who, to enjoy the profits and titles which follow power, are contented to be the slaves of business.

But the legislature, whose service to the publick is voluntary, and attended with no recompence,
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except the honour of doing well, should endeavour to avoid all this envy and hatred, which seem so inseparably joined to the executive part of power, and leave those burthens to such as are paid for what they suffer.

There is nothing more natural, than for the commonalty to love their own representatives, and to respect that authority, which, by the constitution, was established to protect their civil rights; and yet the parliament in 1640 is an instance, that when the House of Commons took upon themselves the whole administration of affairs, the people grew as weary of them as they had formerly been of state ministers, and, when in this executive capacity, many of the multitude began to complain of their proceedings, question their privileges, and arraign their authority; for when collective bodies take in hand such affairs as were wont to be transacted by private men, mankind is apt to suspect they may be liable to those partialities, errors, or corruptions, of which particular persons may be accused in their management; so that it is possible for assemblies to become unpopular, as well as ministers of state.

But had that parliament (which was indeed driven into a variety of enquiries, by numberless errors, corruptions, and neglects in the administration) proceeded by degrees, and reformed one abuse after another, without embracing too much at once, they had not overthrown the state as they did, and they had given distaste to none but the very criminals upon whom they animadverted in their enquiries and complaints; and when this course is taken, ambitious and designing men will never have it in their power to shake the people in their affections to the House of Commons.

When the executive power proceeds amiss, not only the legislature may interpose, but each particular member of the commonwealth thinks it lawful for him to intermeddle. For man, having first subjected himself to government, for ease, plenty and protection, if he is neither happy nor safe, through their fault who rule, begins to believe that the contract is broken, into which he entered for the benefit of society; that they who, by their conduct, shew themselves to be no stronger nor wiser than he is, have no right to command him; that he is returned into the full liberty his progenitors enjoyed in the free state of nature, and that he may act for himself, and take all the ways of consulting and compassing his own safety.

And probably from hence it is, that, under loose and weak administrations, all degrees, from the highest to the lowest of the people, will be statesmen; and the vulgar, growing from time to time still more inquisitive, censorious and turbulent, it becomes at last very difficult to keep them within the bounds of duty to their rulers.

In this uneasy condition they suspect and hate that ministry whereof they have had experience, which leads them to fly for refuge to those whose vices lie concealed, because they have not yet appeared upon the stage of business. But when their clamours have produced a change of hands, finding themselves no better than they were, they complain on, being full of jealousies and discontents. And all this is the matter out of which wicked and ambitious men create factions in kingdoms and commonwealths; and from hence parties are formed, who become insignificant and unregarded when there are few or no faults in the executive power, that is, when the general administration of affairs is sound and perfect.

S E C T.

S E C T. XIV.

Of Ministers of State.

IT was a saying of Hannibal, that many things, which in their own nature seem almost impossible, are to be compassed when taken in hand with skill: “*Multa quæ impedita natura sunt, consilio expediuntur.*” To restore order in a state where all has been in confusion, vigilance in the publick where its business is used to be neglected, frugality where opposite courses have been thought most politick, and probity among those who are long accustomed to corruption; or, to lead such into the plain ways of honesty and truth, whose experience and dexterity is more versed in wrong than in right measures; to suppress faction in a country where most of the great men, for many years, have known no other road to honor and preferments; to reconcile parties, when perhaps both think it their interest to remain divided, one side aiming to engross all, and to exclude rivals in the present juncture, and the other side desiring likewise, in their turn, to have no competitors, conceiving vast hopes from the future condition of things; to bring affairs so embroiled into a better posture, is, without doubt, very difficult; but who can pretend it is out of the reach of human wisdom, since there are instances, and not remote ones, in history, that as much as all this has been brought about by a wise and virtuous prince, assisted with a good and faithful council?

As I have noted before, parties, far more exasperated against one another than ours can be, and when the sword of civil war had been unsheathed

sheathed for near 40 years, were reconciled in France by Henry the fourth, a king roughly bred in camps, a stranger to the skill of courts, and who had not the natural parts which shined in his immediate predecessor Henry the third, and none of that dark cunning which lurked in the subtle head of Lewis the eleventh; but heaven had blessed him with what was much better, a mind nobly disposed, full of virtuous thoughts and tender inclinations towards his people.

The deep reaches of policy, so much applauded in some kings, have generally tended more to the hurt than good of human kind: in those dark caverns and recesses of the brain are often forged the chains of bondage; and as, in relation to private men, honesty will in the end be always found the best policy, in the same manner, as to princes, true honesty ought to be accounted the sublimest part of wisdom.

Machiavel observes, that they are very much mistaken who are apt to cry, when princes have created in the people an opinion of their prudence, that the excellencies of their own nature are not to be thanked for this, but that it is owing to the good councils of those who are about them; whereas, says he, it is an infallible rule, that a prince who has no wisdom of his own, can never be well advised, and that good councils proceed rather from the wisdom of the prince, than the prince's wisdom from the goodness of his councils.

This observation holds yet truer in England than perhaps in other countries. France had a steady and wise management of affairs under a weak prince, Lewis the thirteenth, who at last committed the whole administration, successively, to the cardinals Richlieu and Mazarine, and these indeed ruled the kingdom. But among us, not
one

one instance can be given, that things have been well administered in the realm, when the Sovereign was defective in those abilities of the mind which are requisite for empire.

The reason whereof is obvious to any who consider the nature of our government, and of its people. A free country, and men jealous of their liberties, can never brook that the Prince should be engrossed by any one person. Whoever pretended to take upon himself this post, and to be a minister without associates in authority, has always been unfortunate. Wolsey, as peradventure he was the ablest man we ever had for such a station, so he held it the longest, and yet he sunk at last under the weight of being a single minister.

Therefore, since the form of this constitution, and temper of the people, seem to require, that the council by which the affairs of state are governed should consist of more than are consulted in an absolute dominion, and since many must here participate in the derivative power, if Princes are not endowed with faculties to judge amidst these numbers, they will be ever at a loss.

Even where all have the same right intentions to the state, and the same ardour in the Prince's service, still, among several heads, there will be variety of opinions, and it must be a good judgment that can determine, which of divers advices is the best.

But some of our Princes heretofore have been so unfortunate, that their very ministers were divided, which always happened to be the case when there were parties in the kingdom; and then to steer a true course was yet more difficult, and it required a quick eye to see which councils were suggested by his ambition who gave them, his own interest, corruption or intemperate zeal,

or which were the result of long experience, perfect wisdom, and real affection to the publick, especially because it is not hard for great parts and flowing eloquence so to clothe falshood, that it shall appear as fair as truth itself.

Among the great ones, to keep intemperate zeal within bounds, to curb their ambition, to see that their selfish designs and the corrupt ends they drive at, may not prejudice the commonwealth, so to countenance the good, that they may be able to over-rule the bad in all debates and consultations, and to bring different interest and opposite opinions to concur in promoting what is for the general advantage of the whole, is indeed not an easy task. “And for Princes to be served by a set of men without faults, is (as Machiavel observes) impossible; for man will be bad, unless he is compelled to be good by some necessity.”

But Sovereigns impose this necessity of being good upon their ministers and councillors, when they themselves are so, and this royal goodness is a light that will guide them through all the most hard and darkest parts of government, especially when to it are joined the help and grace of God, who never fails to assist such of his vicegerents, here on earth, as tread in the steps of piety and virtue, unless at certain seasons, when his divine providence thinks fit to scourge a wicked people, by laying afflictions on a virtuous Prince.

Diffimulation, breach of faith, when it serves a turn, the arts of extorting treasure from the wretched subjects, or undermining them in their liberties, with what else bad Kings and their flatterers have called high wisdom, are far from being the right supports of empire; and for the good government of a free country, such as is this kingdom, no more skill, no more policies are requisite

quisite, than what may be comprehended by a woman, as was seen in the instance of Queen Elizabeth.

That great Princess laid the foundations of her happy reign in the beginning of it, giving proofs, at her accession to the throne, that her chief endeavours should be to promote the honour and welfare of her country, and to gain the affections of her people.

What effect had the fine-spun Italian policies suggested to her contemporary neighbour Henry the third of France, by his mother Catharine of Medicis, who persuaded her son that his power would be stronger by keeping up two factions, equally poised, within his kingdom? Did not all these arts, and all this false skill, terminate in the ruin of that Prince? Or what effect had the deep-laid councils of her other contemporary, Philip the second, who impoverished Spain by feeding the league, in hopes to get France for his daughter the Infanta? Did not this end in his losing above half the Netherlands? Both Catharine and this Philip are celebrated for great politicians, and yet the one saw nothing but troubles and civil war during her time, and the other, every thing considered, left his dominions in a far worse condition than he found them.

Neither the French Henry, nor Philip of Spain, had entered into those destructive measures, had they not preferred their own ambition, and immoderate thirst after power, above the quiet and happiness of their respective countries: and these instances prove how little there is in these subtle policies or king-craft. Each had it in a large degree, and yet it mislead them both; from whence may be justly argued, that to love their people, and to consult their welfare, is in Princes the

highest, and carries along with it all the other parts of wisdom.

And in a free country, such as England is, when Princes, in the beginnings of their reign, give apparent proofs that the publick good is the chief object of their thoughts, and that their measures and designments shall still center in the ease and happiness of their subjects, it may be safely concluded, that their hands are strong enough to wield the scepter, that their natural lights are sufficient, that they have attained to the degrees of wisdom and knowledge which are requisite for empire, and “that they are fit to go out and come in before, and to judge this people that is so great.”

As Queen Elizabeth, by convincing her subjects, in the first step she made, that her chief glory should consist in their welfare and prosperity, got such credit and power as enabled her to accomplish one of the greatest works that had ever been performed by any Prince, which was to reconcile a kingdom divided about religious matters, and where the strength in numbers was of both sides in a manner equal; so a Sovereign, in whose royal mind and thoughts the love of England is deeply rooted, and whose own heart is entirely English, without doubt will be able, by degrees, to put an end to faction and divisions, and to heal all our present breaches.

For they whose fortunes, birth, or abilities, give them encouragement to approach the throne, and undertake the administration of affairs, when they see one placed upon it who is resolved to promote national honour and interest, must adopt all their councils to this resolution, and it reduces ministers to “that necessity of being good,” whereof Machiavel speaks.

To say that men are corrupted in an ill court, is by no means true ; but now and then it happens that such as are but half honest enter upon the stage of business : these indeed, observing the advantages with which compleat wickedness is attended in a bad reign, are easily persuaded to lay their half honesty quite aside, and to become as abandoned in their principles and actions, as the rest with whom they have to deal. But the vices of the palace leave no taint at all on him, whose virtues are perfect and consummate ; he is as sound when he comes out as when he went in, and come out at last he must, for his fellowship there cannot be grateful long.

It is not that the morals of the men of business are altered in a bad court, but the truth rather seems to be, that they bring all their vices and corruptions with them, and that none repair thither, when ill designs are upon the anvil, but the worst persons, who are then most acceptable, and indeed fittest to carry on misgovernment.

On the other hand, when there is a fair prospect that things shall be well administered, and that there is such a court as is capable of honest councils, men of fortune, worth and probity, think it proper to make a tender of their service. And there can be no truer indication, that the time is seasonable for persons so qualified to engage in affairs of state, than when Princes, by their general conduct, shew that they are, in no degree, so studious of enlarging their own regal authority and power, as they are careful to promote the interest of their people, and anxious to advance the honour of their country.

As these measures attract and invite the best, so they help to keep the worst at a fit distance from the throne. They who are masters of no other

skill than to flatter the present inclinations of the Prince, will say, what shall we do at a court, where the Sovereign relishes better what is sound and wholesome, than what is false and pleasing? They who build all their merit in a profligate resignation of themselves to whatever is commanded, will say, there is no need of such as we are, when the Prince desires to be obeyed in nothing but what is convenient, just and honourable. They who are tainted with arbitrary principles, or who cannot satiate their unbounded ambition in any legal government, will say, this is no time for us, our tricks and subtle policies are of no use, and out of date; the Sovereign does not like to walk in our dark and difficult meandres, but delights in the plain road of justice and the laws. And such as grasp at power, with no other design but to be in some station where they may have opportunities to rob the publick, may, perhaps, not think it worth their while to thrust themselves into a court, where immoderate gains are no longer to be made, and where the Prince is frugal, not by natural temper, but in compassion to the people.

When they see their Sovereign's mind fully bent upon restoring peace, order and union in a country, which is the most certain proof that can be given of bearing true affection to it, they will thus argue among one another: the Prince is resolved to root out faction, our course of proceeding is therefore to be changed; let us cast aside our pretended zeal for the publick, and learn to love it in good earnest; we must make no more attempts to inflame the multitude, by finding fault where there is no occasion; when we complain hereafter, let it be in order to mend things, and not to remove persons only to bring ourselves into their stations; let us not accuse ministers, and, when they are depressed,

depressed, be more arbitrary, corrupt and rapacious than they were, when we are in their posts, and the power is in our hands ; it is no longer the season to think of embroiling the Prince's affairs, to render ourselves necessary ; the way now must be, to endeavour at rising in the state by real merit, and not by popular arts, and by being considerable in this or that party ; let us rather be disengaged from the intricacies, insincerities, indiscretions and partialities, with which parties are commonly attended : the Prince designs so to rule, as not to want the help of either side, but will invite or compel both to make all their thoughts, proceedings and councils, center in the publick interest ; invite by good government, and compel by discountenancing all such as shall pretend to advance themselves by the numbers, power, and noise of factions ; let us therefore put an end to parties ; divisions must cease, that this united strength may make our Sovereign great, powerful, and in a condition to hold the balance of Europe, and render the people safe and happy at home, and formidable to their enemies abroad.

These will doubtless be the thoughts of such who intend to mount upon the stage of business under a good and virtuous Prince. They who are conscious of their own imperfections, vices and incapacity, will either be afraid, or think it impossible for them to approach the throne ; and such a court, instead of corrupting men, renders them better than they are by nature, and becomes the school of honour and true virtue : so that an early resolution of ruling well (which they seldom fail to take, and afterwards pursue, who indeed cherish their people, and love their native country) is the certain way for Princes to be served by faithful ministers and able statesmen.

The struggles of faction are commonly for power; therefore one way of putting an end to them is, so to order affairs, that the offices, employments and dignities of the state may be the rewards of merit, and not the prize of this or that party, as it chances to get the upper-hand, since the taking away the matter contended for, is one step towards quieting contention; and it is in some degree removed, when they only are advanced and regarded who strive to deserve well from the whole, not they who think it desert sufficient to have walked obsequiously under such and such a banner. To see bad men preferred to high trusts has been frequently the cause of sedition, and truly, in some measure, it renders forming of parties unavoidable, by reason such as fear injuries and oppression from wicked ministers in power, are necessitated to join together for their own preservation: but, generally speaking, all degrees of men think themselves safe, and acquiesce in the recompences they see bestowed on virtue and true merit.

And in nations where there happens to be a court and country party, there are two sorts of men very unfit to act in affairs of state, either for the Prince or people; and yet the persons here meant have, in former times, been by both most looked upon and trusted; that is, the court liked those most who were fallen under the displeasure of the people, and the people had the best opinion of those who had received the highest affronts and disobligations from the court. But there is a vein of passion running through all the actions and councils of such men, which is very prejudicial to the publick, and commonly they are too much in anger themselves to be good authors of peace and concord among others.

Ministers

Ministers contribute very much to root out faction, when their own conduct is without reproach; when it manifestly appears, by all their actions, that they take more care of the common interest, than to build up their own fortunes; when they are not over-greedy for themselves; when they show no endeavours to engross the Prince, or to confine the royal favour only to their own private followers and creatures; when they do not so much consider who are their personal friends, as who best love and can best serve the publick; when they have disinterested minds, clean hands, and such undaunted spirits as constantly to pursue what is right, and to avoid what is wrong, without regarding either to please or displease the great or little vulgar, which courage arises from true sense and solid virtue; when they desire to have power and interest, rather by their proper merits and endowments, than from the station they are in; and lastly, when they are of such a temper that they can, with ease and satisfaction, quit those posts wherein they cannot be of service to the publick, or which they can no longer hold with their own honour. When all this becomes visible, both to those who wish them ill and wish them well, they quickly grow to have such weight and authority with the whole people, that the ministerial part of government begins soon to be an over-match for those who would disturb its peace: and such ministers add strength to the Prince, and are a lustre to the court.

One of the best proofs men can give of their capacity for the management of great affairs, is when, by their whole conduct, they shew that they hate flattery, and can bear truth: If they do not like the first, the second will never be ungrateful to them; for what Machiavel says of Princes, may full as well be applied to their ministers,
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“ That they have no other remedy against flatterers, than to let every body understand they are not offended when the truth is told them.” And this sincerity from their true friends, is the only antidote to be made use of against the poison that is daily poured into their ears by the false friends and obsequious followers of their fortune.

They who have well weighed the point will perhaps come to an opinion, that to love flattery is of worse consequence to statesmen, than it can be to any Prince : for suppose a King so unfortunate, as to hear the truth from none that are about him, and that he is soothed in every wrong measure by those who hold his good graces, by no other tenure than by approving and putting in execution all the results of his will and pleasure ; yet, if he reigns over a free country, and consults a Parliament, he will, from time to time, be put in mind of his dangers, either by the house of lords or house of commons, and through these organs will be conveyed to him the complaints, the sense, and voices of his people. Besides the hazard, confusions, blood-shed, and the long train of unforeseen consequences with which revolutions are attended, respect and allegiance are all-powerful motives to keep subjects within the bounds of duty, and to bear many things. How much shall not be here argued ? But most certain it is, that the laws of God instruct us to suffer a great deal from Princes.

But nothing of this holds as to ministers of state. That faithful monitor, the legislative authority, is by no means obliged to give them warning, or to take any pains to hold them back, when they are running towards a precipice : in their case, the law-makers are to correct as judges, and not to advise as fathers. And though the scriptures enjoin obedience to government in general, which includes

includes all the ministerial officers of the state, yet this cannot be so construed as to imply, that in free countries the people, by their representatives, have not a right to call ministers to an account, and to question their proceedings, or, that the supreme judicature may not punish their offences. On the contrary, it is evident that the laws were as much intended to preserve the commonalty against the excesses of power, as to keep them from hurting one another.

If therefore great men give way to have their actions smoothed over to them by parasites with their oily tongues, if they love to be applauded in all they do, and are impatient of contradiction, they must be ruined first or last; they will not hear of their failings, inadvertencies, mistakes and wrong measures, till their errors are past redress, and till complaints and accusations come with a force which is no longer to be resisted: and all this is the more unavoidable, because it is not quite clear, whether or no God allows the subject any other remedy for misgovernment, but to punish ministers for what the Prince has done amiss, by reason it was their duty to advise him better.

There never was a man born, with such a share of natural wisdom within himself, as could conduct him, without the help of others, through all the labyrinths of publick business; and indeed true wisdom does almost as much consist of the inventive, as of the deliberative faculties. A great statesman must not only be qualified to judge aright, but he must be likewise able to invent and propose what is fit to be done in the arduous affairs, and in the new, sudden, and difficult emergencies of government. In the first, his own abilities, if they are very strong, may be a sufficient guide; but no single head is capable of conceiving
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all that is comprehended in the second part of wisdom, and to furnish, from his own proper stock, all that is wanted for the full and perfect execution of any considerable post or employment in the commonwealth.

And whither shall he repair for the intimations, advices, lights and helps he must certainly stand in need of? Shall it be to the companions of his soft hours, the associates of his pleasures, and that perfidious band of flatterers which great men are seldom without? They will say nothing to him but what they know pleases, and suits with his temper and inclination. If they propose, it shall be what tends to their own, and not to his advantage: and how can they advise him whose opinions and sentiments they are never used to combat?

He therefore who desires to preserve power, should endeavour to contract sincere and solid friendships; and because they are not easily to be found in courts, he should seek them elsewhere, purchase them at any rate, and encourage such as he has thus chosen, to tell him truth, and oppose his thoughts and notions: but they can do him no service, unless they are qualified themselves with such judgments as to be able to discern all his most hidden faults and imperfections.

He whose sight goes no further than to see the virtues of a great man, will like all he does, and incline his own opinion that way, and helps to confirm him in his errors; whereas he who knows his weak side (and there are none without it) is ready armed and prepared to assist his friend, and though much inferior to him upon the whole, yet, not having just the same weakness, may hinder this friend from running into many mistakes and dangers.

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For he who has a good head, and a sincere heart, will be apt thus to judge within himself: My friend's ambition will of course lead him to make such a false step that must be fatal to him; the matter is now in agitation, he is blind that way, I am not, and must endeavour to dissuade him from it; the temper of my friend is too phlegmatick and cautious, I am not so wise as he is, but from nature have more spirit and warmth, without being rash, I shall therefore lay before him, that if he were not quite so cold and circumspect, it would be better for himself and for the publick: or, my friend's natural heat carries him too far; he weighs the present advantages, but not the future event of things and councils, and because he knows no fear, he thinks there can be no danger; I have more experience than he has, though his parts are above mine; I have seen great designs defeated by small accidents, and have known small accidents produce great effects, and I will go and try to moderate his heat with my flegm.

They who have friendships with such as are in high posts, and design to do them good, either out of real love, or in gratitude for kind offices done and favours received, proceed in this manner: or, if they see them altered and made worse by power, and become reserved, positive, presumptuous, arrogant, too much elevated and giddy in the height to which they have reached, they shew them how unpopular all this will be, and that it is impossible for a man to continue great any long time, who does not study to be agreeable to good men, since, of necessity, in doing well himself he must displease the bad.

When they have that sincerity which is required by the strict laws of friendship, they inform them
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which of their measures are ill-relished, and which applauded by the whole people, that they may be encouraged to persist in what is right, and be diverted from what is wrong. He who believes himself to be above these intimations, and that he can always depend upon himself, may be said to live alone: and as they who retire from the world grow by degrees savage and fantastical, and at last to know nothing, so they who are too proud to take advice are sure to meet with the same ill effects of solitude, amidst all their business, and in the throng of a full court; whereas they who frequently consult such as they know to wish them well, are not only fortified with their own, but reap a benefit from the knowledge and experience of others, and thereby they arrive at that true wisdom which is attained, not by reading books, but men.

And thus a minister, who is so happy as to have, and who is so wise as to hear, faithful and well-chosen friends, avoids running on those rocks (upon which they seldom fail to split) who, in the most important affairs, where they alone, or where they with the publick are concerned, either rely on their own judgment (of what force soever it be) or only communicate with that servile crew at court, who see no faults in a great man while he preserves his post of power and favour, and will allow him no virtues or perfections when his fortune changes.

And in matters fit to be communicated, they will find information, ease, and safety, by now and then conferring with some of the ablest men that can be found among those whom modesty, or perhaps true wisdom, has all along kept out of business. No country is without such a sort of persons that have no engagements with, or dependencies

dencies on the court, but whose meer affections to the publick lead them often to meditate upon all its great affairs. These lookers on, generally speaking, are exempt from those partialities, heats and prepossessions, to which they may be liable who are deeply concerned in the game themselves, and whose all lies at stake; and the cool and disinterested advices of such men sometimes prove better helps, and truer lights to a minister, than he can elsewhere meet with.

Nothing more conduces to the prosperity of Sovereigns, than to be fortunate in the choice of those who are to serve them; I say fortunate, by reason that to choose well is not always within the reach of prudence, because many men have had vices and imperfections which lay quite concealed till they were mounted on the stage; so that Princes may thank their own good luck, when such as they call into the administration of their affairs grow better, and not worse, in that high power with which they are intrusted.

Nor should they who know they are deficient in the abilities expected from those who sit at helm venture to approach the throne, lest their defects should be prejudicial to the Prince, and hurtful to themselves; if they have not courage to face a danger, nor prudence to avert it; if they have not a temper that can bear with the heats, passions, and follies of human kind; if they shrink under perils, and are too much elated with prosperity; if their genius is low, and their thoughts high; if they have not foresight, a quick apprehension, together with a solid judgment; in short, if they are not equal to the greatest affairs, for their own and the publick good, they should not presume to take upon them the administration of a Prince's business.

For their own, because, without excellent endowments, it will be impossible for them long to keep their ground in a free country, where the people are inquisitive and censorious. 'Tis true, men of a much lower form have often got to be ministers, however, they have enjoyed but a brief authority; they have been fortune's bubbles blown up, and of a sudden blown down, and they have frequently perished under the weight which they were not strong enough to bear.

And for the sake of their country they should not intermeddle, because to the weakness of such men, most commonly, has been owing all misgovernment in a nation; either their corrupt, or their unskilful conduct, was the cause that national interest has been neglected, that arbitrary measures were taken, that heresies have started up, and that separations have been made from the body of the church, that the realm lies under the pressure of so many debts, that the executive power proceeded no better, and with no more vigour, than to suffer factions to grow up to such a head, as in time may, perhaps, endanger the publick peace; all which mischiefs had been avoided, in a large degree, if our statesmen had been equal to the great affairs they undertook to manage. So that, upon the choice Princes make of their ministers, depends both their own and the felicity or unhappiness of their kingdoms.

But admit their capacities of mind, and deep reaches in policy to be such, that they can carry on illegal government with a strenuous and powerful hand, and support it for a while; of which sort of statesmen there have been now and then some in every age, who, to gratify their ambition, have attempted to enslave their country, and went a great way towards it; who, to preserve their

their post of favour with a Prince of arbitrary inclinations, have acted against their own natural lights, and exercised those talents to promote an unjust and a bad, which should have been employed in establishing a rightful administration. Yet let not these men rely too much upon their strength of parts, which at last may fail, since the world has seen the ablest of them want skill to prevent their own ruin; for either they serve a Prince who is absolute, and, if so, he is sometimes compelled to sacrifice an ill minister to the indignation or fury of his people; or they live in a free country, and then, in some juncture or other, the people will be strong enough to force them from their master.

None should presume to come very near the throne, but such as are conscious of their own worth, who know they have abilities to serve the publick, and who find within themselves a stock of virtue sufficient to bear them out in the roughest storms of fortune, and to resist all the temptations which eminent power may lay before them.

When ministers are thus qualified, Princes are not compelled to that frequent change of hands, for which weak states are despised at home, and contemptible in foreign countries. Sagacity must be the result of long experience. That which has shone in some young men who had seen little, and yet would meddle in great affairs, was rather wit than wisdom, and could never bear them through all the difficulties of publick business. Wit is a steed full of mettle, but under-limbed, and is by no means proper to travel in deep and heavy roads. Witty men are pleasant companions for such as desire to laugh at all which the busy world is doing, but they seldom prove able statesmen till time has ripened their wit into judgment,

and then they arrive to the highest perfection, because wit gives them the inventive, and their deliberative faculties are mended by experience.

But what knowledge can be attained to in courts where they change their ministers as often as they do their fashions, and where few are continued in a post half the time that is necessary to make them understand it.

Where there is this bad conduct and levity, the people must needs believe the government itself to be out of order, when they see it so restless and unquiet, like a person on the bed of sickness, who tosses from place to place, and can find no ease; nor will a state be thought in sound health, when it is so often for removing: besides, nothing can be more absurd, than to imagine governments can subsist, where such as are intrusted by the Prince have not their due respect. But how can they be respected, whose authority is known to be so short-lived, precarious and uncertain?

What the patriarch said of his son Reuben holds true as to a whole nation, "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel." It is rarely seen, that a country becomes considerable which is subject to frequent alterations in its measures; but when hands are shifted, things must often change, because few commonwealths are so well constituted, but that things very much depend on persons. And this being the case, what foreign state desires to have engagements with a Prince, whose affairs, by having at every moment a new court, can never be long upon the same foot: he may indeed be applied to by those of his neighbours who want his purse and help, but he will have few allies and confederates contented to be with him upon equal terms, and as much to his as to their advantage; for a wise state will be as unwilling to enter into
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strict and important alliances with such a Prince, as a prudent man would be to contract a solemn friendship with one who was always known to be of an inconstant temper.

There are two ranks of men who may have it in their minds to repair to courts, in order to better their conditions: first, such as hope, by merit, to advance themselves to high honours and preferments: secondly, such as may come thither with great titles and fortunes already made, who think their pretensions to power just, because their virtues, birth and parts deserve it.

Among the first sort, what encouragement can there be to think of rising by long and faithful service (and so to reach the top at last) in a court accustomed to intercept its best servants in the middle of their course? Do not these thoughts make men of real abilities and worth afraid to come upon ground so slippery, and where it is in a manner impossible for the most wary feet to stand any time? What has been the consequence of all this for several years? The court was shunned by the honestest and ablest men to serve it, and crowded with such as were resolved to grow rich apace, and so to be too quick for any of the nimblest turns of fortune. And was not "this making over-much haste to be rich" (which in the late reigns has been so visible in the men of business) the principal cause of the abuses and corruptions that have been complained of, and which have cost England so very dear?

As to the other rank, what invitation can there be for men of the first quality to enter into the management of affairs, when they are to hold their posts and offices by so slender a tenure, when their power is to depend upon chance, and not their own endowments, and when they are thus

set up, like meteors, to be gazed on for a while, and then to disappear?

Without doubt, it is a strong support to the throne, to have about it men of high birth, who come into the service of their Sovereign with large fortunes of their own, not made at court, and of whose ancestors the people read every day in the chronicles of past times. When such persons have courage, eloquence, parts, experience, and a sound judgment, their greatness is not invidious among the vulgar, who applaud the Prince's making choice of such a man, and think one so qualified has a kind of right to any of the chief stations in the commonwealth. But, when a minister has these abilities, it is not worth his while to exert himself, unless it be in a court which he sees is steady and constant in its measures.

That courage and resolution, without which it is impossible to carry on a good and wise government, must be grounded on a belief, that he who acts well shall be justified, and that intrigues, false insinuations, and malicious whispers, shall never be suffered to bear him down, whose integrity is perfect, and whose conduct is without reproach.

But in a free country, when it happens to be divided into parties, it is almost as difficult for Princes to support good ministers, as it is for bad Princes to think of defending a corrupt set of statesmen against the resentment and voices of their people; for as good patriots believe it their duty to attack an ill administration, so wicked men conceive it to be their interest not to give time for order and right management to take place, and be established; for whatever is well done, is an effectual impeachment of their proceedings; therefore, where there has been a long series of misgovernment,

government, they who come after, with intentions to mend things, must expect to be assaulted, and to have for adversaries all such as think themselves arraigned by a better conduct in the persons by whom they are succeeded.

And where corruptions are become so extensive, that the guilty are almost as many as the innocent; where they who have robbed the publick, and they who would have given up the constitution, are active, insolent, proud of their numbers, and grasping at power, when they should think impunity much more than they could in reason hope for; where all this is, and where the country likewise is divided in religious matters, it will not be hard to form such a faction as may raise clamours, traduce, and, under popular pretences, disturb and interrupt the measures of the most faithful servants of the crown, who are no other ways to be protected, in such a case, from the strength and violence of their ambitious and designing enemies, than by the courage and resolution of the Prince.

As it is not consistent with the safety of Princes, their wisdom, nor indeed with their duty to God, whose vicegerents they are, to let their personal kindness to private men go so far, as to defend ministers, who, by their unskilfulness, negligence, or perhaps by high crimes, are become obnoxious to the whole people; so, on the other side, it is a safe, wise, and a religious duty, for them to take into protection their faithful servants, and to shield them against such enmities as, by just and upright dealing, they must of necessity contract in a corrupt and a divided country.

It is true, where there are parties, it is not so easy for the Sovereign to judge whether the accusation is well grounded, or only the result of

malice; peradventure, the best guide in this case, is not so much to consider the person accused, as who are his accusers, and who take his part. If there are frequent complaints of his conduct, and still urged from the best men, though not the strongest in numbers, and if he is defended, though by a majority that are under his influence, embarked all along in his designs, and who have been partakers in his crimes, such a minister is a greater load than it is fit a wise Prince should bear. On the other hand, if the accusers are known to be ambitious, impatient of a good, and hankering after a loose and corrupt government; if they give signs of aiming at such a one, as that under it they may rob the publick with impunity; if this reforming spirit is in them quite new; if, from their past behaviour, it appears that they find fault with the administration for no other reason but because it is not in their own, or in such hands as they like; and if the person accused is justified in his proceedings and measures by all such as are disinterested, sagacious, without prejudice or passion, and who are known to have no other aims, but that right government may be promoted, and that the state may flourish. In such cases, heretofore, resolute, wise and virtuous Princes have not regarded who were the majority, but were truth lay, and how the common welfare might be best consulted; and having duly weighed the merits of their servant, and considered as well the objections to him, as the temper of his friends and enemies, they have interposed with the regal power, to preserve a just and able minister against the rage of mistaken numbers, by whom the innocent may sometimes be assaulted and oppressed.

If the majority had been never known to err, we might believe it not capable of error in times

to come ; but where parties have long subsisted, anger and prejudice have sometimes hurried them into councils, which, upon cooler thoughts and better recollection, had been avoided. Princes, therefore, who prudently stem these sudden tides, and are willing, on one hand, to resign offenders up to justice, but, on the other, are steady and firm to protect innocence, give men time to recollect themselves, and so reason grows, at last, to regain that dominion over their minds, which was usurped before by passion.

Sovereigns, who have not this firmness of mind, upon which the innocent may securely rely for their protection, must never expect to be served by the best sort of men, who, careful of their fame, and having a great stock of reputation in the world to lose, are loth to stake it on their side by whom they are sure to be abandoned in every the least attack that shall be made upon them ; and in a divided country, to manage so as to be without enemies, is almost impossible. Who then will engage in the service of an unsteady Prince ? Persons who know themselves to be of so little consequence, that it is quite indifferent what becomes of them, a forlorn hope, food for powder, and fit matter for any sudden fury of the vulgar to spend itself upon ; men obscure, or of desperate fortunes, who, though greedy of honours, are yet ashamed of no disgraces, who are pleased to be journeymen or day-labourers in a court, glad to be in service, though but for a week, and who submit to be taken in, or to be thrown out, as it best serves the present turn. But can it be proper that the palace should be filled with such a mean and servile crew ? and, in former ages, what has been the effect of a ministry so composed ? Have not the people, by being

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accustomed

accustomed to pull down the weak supports about and near it, come at last to assault the very throne?

To which may be added, that the frequent changes which had been of officers in the state, occasioned the faction that was called "The league for the publick good," which, in the beginning of Lewis the eleventh's reign, produced a civil war in France.

They who administer well, of course will have to friends, true patriots, all wise and honest men; but where there are parties, a right administration is not always pleasing, it distastes the ambitious intriguers on both sides; in some, it may thwart their avarice or over-weening opinion of themselves, it may not proceed fast enough for the inconsiderate zeal or passion of others, or it may be too severe for those who have seen and felt what wealth was to be acquired in a loose and careless management. Good ministers, therefore, in the perpetual conflicts they are certain to have with the heats and indiscretions, or with the vices and corruption of the times, must be supported by the unshaken courage and well-grounded resolution of their Prince.

And this magnanimity in Sovereigns emboldens such as are about them to persevere in just measures for the publick, and to give faithful and disinterested advices, not what are pleasant to the taste, but what will be wholesome in the digestion; whereas, in kingdoms where they are attacked on slight occasions, and with the same levity deserted, they adapt their proceedings to what seems the present temper of the prevailing side, let the future consequence be what it will; and, every thing considered, peradventure it is not easy to determine who is the most pernicious minister, in relation

relation to the whole government, he who makes his court by flattering the Prince in whatever he does, and by pursuing all his worst inclinations, or he who looks no farther than to affect being popular, by taking aim, in all his transactions for the state, from what he thinks is the immediate sense of the superior party, be it right or wrong.

This magnanimity is not shewn in obstinately defending bad men in a bad cause. One of the bravest of our Kings, Henry the fourth, removed from court four of his servants at once, for no other reason but that they were so unfortunate as not to be grateful to the people; [Rot. Parl. 5 Hen. 4. No. 16.] but it was at a time when there were no divisions in the kingdom; and probably the vices of these four were visible to others, though concealed from him. Indeed, where factions reign, it is difficult for Princes to judge upon whom they should shine, and from whom they should withdraw their favour; but when this happens to be the case, they will seldom err in openly joining with the virtuous to support truth and virtue.

Generally speaking, the suggestions of such a courage as is governed by wisdom, are the truest lights, not only for Princes, but for private men in their service, to follow. The fearful dare not so much as desire help: "*Pavor etiam auxilia formidat.*" He who finds within himself a heart not capable of great affairs, should avoid engaging in the business of a state; the passion of fear will so often disorder his reason, as to make him liable to errors without number; and, as to matters of government, the fearful are directly slaves to those who are bolder than themselves. But this holds yet more strongly in countries that are divided: for can the enemies of a great man desire a fairer
game

game against him, than to know, that though they have not skill enough to defeat the measures of his wisdom, yet that they are able to bring him over to their designs and interest, by working upon his fears?

A minister of state, fully qualified for the service of his Prince, should be afraid of doing nothing but what is ill in itself, and against the rules of virtue, his own honour, and the honour, interest, or advantage of his country; he should not only be a brave, but a magnanimous man, whom Aristotle, in his *Ethics to Nicomachus* [lib. 4.] thus describes: "He is one who strives to do great things, or what may be for great ends, and by which he may acquire great honour; he is not therefore so apt to run into frequent dangers, as into great ones, not prompt for every turn, but rather slow and deliberate; he will not rashly undertake even great matters, but with council and good caution; he is not much taken up with the care of worldly concerns, as not thinking them either great enough, or of much account; but honour is, in his esteem, as the highest of human external benefits, inasmuch as he observes, it is the highest thing we have to pay, even to the gods."

And this philosopher [ibid. lib. 2.] says, "That the true medium in virtue, and that which is its very best, must be ascertained with regard unto time, and to occasions, and to the persons with whom, or for whose sake we act, and to the manner of acting."

Andronicus defines courage "To be a virtue by which a man carries himself stoutly, and with circumspection, through all the affairs that have relation to the publick."

Thus

Thus stood the opinions of these wise men, as to magnanimity, virtue and courage. But they would have their magnanimous man, who attempts great things, or what may be for great ends, to be slow and deliberate, to proceed with council and caution, to have regard to time and occasions, and to the persons with whom he has to deal, and to be stout, but still with circumspection.

There is courage in action and in council. The first is military virtue, which is a noble ardour, pushing men on to perform great deeds, that they may acquire much fame. He who has it in perfection shrinks at no perils he is going to encounter, and is present to himself in the hottest dangers, and when they are come upon him. This sort of courage is what properly belongs to such as are to serve Princes in the business of their wars.

That constancy of mind, which is not surpris'd at a new, sudden, and unexpected accident, but is ready, with an undisturbed judgment, to determine, in an instant, what is fit to be done upon it; that firm resolution which is not to be diverted from what is right, by the voices of the people; that unshaken temper that can wait a long time, till the fruit of wisdom is grown ripe, and, in the mean while, with patience bear the obloquies of men, is what may be called courage in council, and is one of the principal virtues necessary to the composition of a good statesman, whose service the Prince makes use of only in civil matters.

Courage in the field is more popular, and shines most, and it is the truest course of obtaining solid and lasting greatness; for power, which is attained by meer wisdom, has seldom been seen strong enough to resist faction, envy, and the intrigues of a court; and therefore such as have been ministers

for the council, or execution of affairs meerly civil, unless under very wise reigns, have been rarely long-lived; for none but the wise see what is done by wisdom, and they are not often a numerous party. But the effects of valour make a greater show, and are visible to the whole people, for which reason, he who endeavours to establish himself by repeated proofs of his courage, and by military skill and conduct, forms a real strength, such as is able to support him in the constant struggles men of eminent worth, and in high stations, must be sure to meet with. Nor does this hold any where more truly than in this kingdom, where the vulgar are more apt to admire the marks of great valour, than the results of deep prudence.

And yet, where there are divisions, valour, the virtue which is of such use to a country that has a big war upon its hands, can hardly defend itself against detraction. At any other time, such a success as the taking of Bonn, the 5th of May, in the beginning of the campaign, would have been received with universal applause; and though it was thought of such consequence by the French, as to be garrisoned by 13 old regiments, and though it secures all the Lower Rhine, yet they who are resolved to be angry, will always find somewhat to complain of; and if the commander in chief pursues his own natural inclinations, and pushes on the war with vigour, they are apt to say he consumes the blood and treasure of the kingdom in forming sieges and taking towns, which must be all restored at the conclusion of a peace; that he only regards to increase his own glory and renown, and that therefore he has pressed so earnestly for action in all the councils of war, and, by his memorials, has shewn how
needful

needful it was to make some bold and brave attempts, which might give reputation to the confederate affairs abroad, at a season when they declined in other parts: at the same time others, who sit at home at their ease, cry, Why were not the lines attacked? we pay taxes, and nothing is done; never considering the difficulties a general lies under who commands confederate troops, and who must act in concert with others. They never ask the question, Will this be otherwise next year? or, Have the allies consented that the captain-general, hereafter, shall have a more absolute command over the whole army? In the meanwhile, they reckon for nothing the taking of Huy, by which the conquest of all upon the Meuse is forwarded, nor the reducing the town, castle and dutchy of Limburg, with whatever else he may have designed, for the future service of his Prince and of the common cause.

Thus, in a divided country, men will censure whatever is done, either in the cabinet or in the field, against which there is no such sure defence for great men, as to do what is right and wise, without regarding which side is pleased or displeased with their actions or councils; and if their measures are founded upon truth and virtue, this constancy of mind, and this noble contempt of popular discourses, will not only prevail, but, at the long run, must receive universal approbation.

In all affairs whatsoever, it is natural, both for the great and little vulgar, to desire more haste should be made, than may, peradventure, consist with the rules of prudence; but especially parties never think their friends move fast enough, not reflecting that they, who make too much speed at first, may come to want breath before the race is half performed.

And

And when there is a faction in the state, corrupt, ambitious, implacable, restless, bred under a loose administration, impatient of a good one, and grasping at power which they so much abused when they were in possession of it, perhaps such a strength is best reduced by observing the conduct of Fabius Maximus, who avoided, as much as possible, to engage in battle with an enemy, desperate, active, and full of stratagems; and though his encamping upon the mountains, his caution and slow courses were derided for a time, yet at last he was esteemed the only wise man among the Romans, when the temerity, first of his colleague Minutius, then of Terentius Varro, had brought them to the very brink of ruin.

Factions in the state, sects in religion, and armies reduced to streights, are ever desirous to be in action; they consume of themselves, and dwindle away to nothing, when you are strongly intrenched near them, when you cut off their provisions, and watch their motions. What can men, brought to despair, wish for more, than a day for the decision of their fortune? This Hannibal saw, and tried all arts to provoke Fabius to fight, but Fabius was too wise to be provoked to do what was against the publick interest, though insulted by his enemies in the Carthaginian army, and though censured by his own friends, as well in the city as in the senate; but, as Ennius observed, his prudent cunctation, or slow proceedings, restored the commonwealth.

The same conduct will perhaps subdue factions and religious sects, against which the publick is to intrench itself by ruling well, by a management without reproach, and by discountenancing such as endeavour to give disturbance to the state; where all this is done, its adversaries moulder away

away by degrees, starve in their camp, and must disband of course, whereas they grow considerable, and begin to think they are upon an equal foot with that government which descends so low as frequently to join in battle with them.

But ministers, who will take this slow, but sure method of healing breaches, and appeasing the divisions of a kingdom, must arm themselves with the patience and courage of our noble Roman; like him, they must not startle and give ground upon rumours and calumnies: and to bear all this, is one of the duties they owe to their Prince and country, who cannot pretend to hold the balance, or to be safe and happy at home, nor indeed to make any sort of figure abroad, while civil discord rages.

The Tarentins once sent ambassadors to interpose in some differences that had happened between the Romans and the Samnites, but they were laughed at by the consul Papirius, for pretending to meddle in the affairs of other countries, when they were rent asunder by their own domestick quarrels: “*Vanissimam increpans gentem, quæ suarum impotens rerum præ domesticis seditionibus discordiisque, aliis modum pacis ac belli facere æquum censeret.*”

Whatever in the beginning we might propose, of going so far and no farther, of confining ourselves to such a quota of ships, men and money, in all likelihood this war, as it is the most necessary, most honourable, and the justest, so it will be found the greatest that ever England undertook.

For the dispute is not the same now as it was for many years, when the arms of Europe were employed to prevent France and the house of Austria from getting ground one upon the other,
and

and to keep the balance even between two powers that of themselves were in a manner equal. To do this required but a small exertion of strength : we could then at any time have turned the scale, and with no very great expence, which made our Henry the eighth (when this kingdom made far a less figure than it does at present) take this motto : “ He prevails whom I join with, Cui adhæreo præest.” But the face of things is now quite altered ; that equality in dominion, which was so easily kept poised, is lost ; we are to aid a weak side against that which is stronger by many degrees, and consequently we must come into the other scale with a much greater weight than ever we did, or it will be still too light.

Affairs are brought to such a crisis, that if the house of Austria is not in a condition to oppose France, it cannot exist at all : if his Imperial Majesty is not so assisted, as to be superior in the war, the German strength will be so broken as hardly to rise again in some years, and if that bulwark be overthrown, what is there to stand in the way of universal empire ?

The matter in controversy between these two great powers, seems incapable of accommodation ; both lay claim to the whole succession of Spain. If such an addition be made to the French monarchy, Europe, in all appearance, must be ruined ; it is therefore the general interest, that those dominions should be possessed, as heretofore, by a branch of the house of Austria : but the one is in possession, and the other unable to assert its rights without considerable assistance, which is no where to be had but from England, Portugal, and the United Provinces, upon whom the burthen must chiefly lie, as in reason it ought, because we and they shall be most hurt by the growth of France.

All

All these things, with our ancient enmity to that kingdom, and the danger of religion being considered, it is perhaps evident enough that this war will be the most bloody, and the longest, that has been seen in Christendom for many ages, unless such vigorous efforts and impressions are made betimes, as may bring it to a speedy issue.

But if we, upon whose courage and perseverance the rest of Europe must so much depend, are embroiled at home, what figure can we make abroad? Where will be that secrecy and dispatch in business that is so needful in the conduct of great affairs? and what vigour can there be in divided councils? What success can they expect, who waste that time in contending with one another for power and dominion, which should be employed in consulting for their common defence? or how can they, who are broken among themselves, oppose a well-united strength? Who can rule well when the wheels of government are clogged, where each side endeavours to put the other in the wrong, though with the hazard of their country's honour and safety, where you are not only to oppose attacks from without, but to provide against mischiefs from within, and where nothing is thought wise that does not succeed, because there is a side to cry it down, and where folly, rashness, and ill-concerted measures pass for current, and are approved of, because there is a side to cry them up?

Irresolution, delays, treachery, fruitless consumption of strength, loss of opportunities, and many more mischiefs, are the effects of civil dissension; where that prevails, you are often compelled to do that which will please the majority, rather than what in itself is just and fit: and to

what streights is wisdom then reduced, concerning whose results only the few can judge aright, and in which the many must determine before they can have effect? Whereas in great assemblies, where there are no divisions, and where parties are not concerned to form oppositions, folly is frequently wrought upon, and convinced by the good sense of the smaller number. So that they who hope to be prosperous abroad, must endeavour to have the people at unity, and well cemented at home, and, as Flaminius advised the Ætolians, lay aside tumults where consultation is needful: “*Desistite tumultuari consultandum est.*”

When affairs in the government are so conducted that particular men cannot find their account in keeping up factions, they vanish of themselves: when advances are made to all that shew any real desires of returning into the bosom of the commonwealth; when all sides, that have equal deserts, stand upon an equal foot in their pretensions; when old objections are forgotten, in their cases who are able and willing to serve the publick for the future; when partialities and animosities are quite laid aside; when the good of both sides are chearfully embraced on all hands, and the bad are despised and abandoned, peace and union come in by degrees, and insensibly take possession in the hearts and minds of the whole people; all men grow to have one and the same interest, and your bottom is so enlarged, that you are strong at home and terrible abroad.

Now and then, indeed, it happens that men are compelled to join in what is called a party, for their own preservation, as the Romans did, some with Sylla, and the rest with Marius, where the side that got the upper-hand endeavoured to secure them-

themselves by the ruin and extirpation of the others, and, as fortune changed, both sides had opportunities to exercise their mutual rage, from whence followed murders, accusations, banishments, proscriptions, and all the other mischiefs with which civil dissention is attended.

Few factions are at any height, but at last they proceed to some of these extremes, and if one side has as much rancour as the other, the commonwealth must bleed for ever ; therefore, if one party happens to have been harassed by those who were heretofore superior, but are then reduced, they that have the better should lay aside their anger and resentment ; for nothing more tends to perpetuate faction, than those exertions of fury to which revenge incites us. Does one side proscribe your friend to-day, you attempt to proscribe him upon the next occasion. So, during the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, our noble families attainted one another, until most of them were ruined or extinguished : the unforgiving temper that then reigned made those wounds continue so long open. One instance of revenge, though it be just, seldom fails to produce another, and he always thinks his own cause right who has received the latest injury ; whereas you have quite disarmed that enemy, whom you shall treat better than he treated you, when at his mercy. And since, in all these cases, peace must ensue at last, or the publick will be quite destroyed, they shew the greatest generosity, who, having gained the field, are the first to promote a truce, and to propose that acts of hostility may cease.

We should, in this juncture, sacrifice all our own resentments and animosities to the general

good of Europe : we have begun this war for the preservation of its liberties, and to oppose the growth of France, than which there cannot be a juster cause ; for it never fares well with the collective body of mankind, when a tyranny is any where set up, that is supported by large revenues and great armies. Such mighty monarchs disturb the peace of the whole world ; during their times, war, blood-shed and devastation afflict the universe, and no considerable country is suffered to be at quiet : besides, their example invites inferior Princes and states to invade the civil rights of their own people.

When several free countries join together in a league (which is our present case) and are entered into a great and expensive war, they should have it in their view to do as much good as possibly they can to other nations, whose condition they should endeavour to meliorate, by restoring to them their antient laws and civil rights, and by helping them to throw off arbitrary power : and it is to be hoped, if our arms prove successful, we shall imitate the conduct of the Romans in their warlike expeditions, who bettered every place they conquered, which appears from what the senate gave in charge to those ambassadors they sent to settle Macedon and Illyria. “ *Omnium primum liberos esse placebat Macedonas atque Illyrios ; ut omnibus gentibus appareret, arma populi Romani, non liberis servitutem, sed contra servientibus libertatem afferre ; ut & in libertate gentes quæ essent, tutam eam sibi perpetuamque sub tutela populi Romani esse : & quæ sub regibus viverent, & in præsens tempus mitiores eos justioresque respectu populi Romani habere se, & si quando bellum cum populo Romano regibus fuisset suis, exitum*
ejus

ejus victoriam Romanis, sibi libertatem allaturum crederent." Where they vanquished commonwealths, they left them their liberties and laws; and where they reduced Kings to submit, and ask for terms of peace, they rendered them more mild and easy to their subjects. And if this be the design of Germany, England, and Holland, they may expect a happy issue from the justice of their intentions, and goodness of their cause.

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

CONSTITUTION

AND

MANAGEMENT

OF THE

Trade to Africa,

THROUGH

The whole Course and Progress thereof, from the Beginning of the last Century, to this Time.

WHEREIN

The Nature and uncommon Circumstances of that TRADE are particularly considered, and all the Arguments urged alternately by the two contending Parties here, touching the different Methods now proposed by them, for carrying on the same to a national Advantage, impartially stated and considered.

BY ALL WHICH

A clear View is given of such a Constitution, as (if established by Act of Parliament) would, in all Probability, render the AFRICAN Trade a permanent, creditable and advantageous Trade to BRITAIN.

Ovid. de Remed. Am.

Et quæ non prosunt singula, juncta juvant.

REFLECTIONS

ON

CONSTITUTION

AND

MAGNET

OF THE

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credit, and advantageous Trade to Britain.

Of the Roman. And

It was now proposed, (viz. to be)

To the R E A D E R.

TR A D E is so universally become the celebrated object of the desires and affections of all nations, that they court it with such eager addresses as commonly exposes many of them to the hazard of encountering violent storms and other dangers; yea frequently, even death itself, in all its various and most terrible shapes. And since it is acknowledged that Trade (so difficult to be obtained, though easily lost) has been the source and chief foundation of the riches, strength, power and greatness of this kingdom, it is no wonder if we look, with a very jealous eye, on all such steps of any of our neighbouring nations, or others, as may seem to have a tendency towards the supplanting us in the enjoyment of any essential part thereof.

And there being no branch of any foreign trade whatsoever, beyond the limits of Europe, so naturally adapted to the interest of Britain, and the plantations thereunto belonging, as the trade to Africa is, I thought it might be no unacceptable piece of service to the publick, to bestow some vacant hours in collecting such proper materials as might give a just and clear view of the past and
present

present state thereof, when so many people, of all sides, seem to be industriously hurried on, into quite different and divided sentiments, concerning the establishment of a constitution suitable to the nature and circumstances of that trade; and have therefore, in the following sheets, ventured to publish such matters of fact as have occurred to my observation, with my own private sentiments thereupon.

I have, for the reader's ease, endeavoured to observe something of a regular method throughout this treatise, by dividing it into several chapters, under different heads, and marking some note of every section upon the margin, except in the last chapter, which is differently disposed; yet the reasoning part is so chained together, in one continued thread, that a stranger to the several points of fact discussed therein, can scarcely be master of any one chapter, without referring, in several particulars, to some of the rest.

I must own that, as in many volumes of far greater bulk, so in these few sheets, the most trifling part takes up the greatest room, for indeed the most material part thereof might have been easily comprehended in a much narrower compass; but in obviating several fallacious positions and suggestions insisted upon by particular persons, I was necessarily obliged to trace their steps through many windings and turnings, backward and forward, which gave occasion to several repetitions and digressions, which otherways had been altogether needless.

I can easily foresee, that some people may be apt to mistake me for some person concerned in the Royal African Company; but I solemnly profess, upon my veracity, and as I would be be-

lieved in the greatest of truths, that I have no particular or immediate concern in either the stock of that company, or of any of the separate traders to Africa, and may therefore reasonably hope to be the less suspected of partiality in what I write, concerning both or either of these contending parties; yea, I can safely aver, that, when first I entered upon making any particular enquiry into the nature and state of the African trade, for my own private satisfaction, no man in this city could have had less bias upon his inclination, in relation to that matter: but when, in my search after truth, I met with what to me seemed to be a certain evidence (whether so or not) it was not possible for me to stand proof against conviction; and having once fully convinced myself, I could not well stand neuter any longer in such a national concern. And I hope, that my having been at some pains to convince myself in the first place, may probably be one good step towards the convincing of others.

If, in the warmth of reasoning, I may have happened to drop any word or sentence, at which either of the parties may take the least offence, it is more than I intended; for, I am so far from having any personal prejudice against any of them, that, even where I seem to be hardest on either side, I shun pointing at any one man in particular, and indeed, all along, I mean no more than barely to overturn such of their arguments as seemed to have no real foundation: but the truth is, it was almost impossible to touch any of the separate traders pamphlets, without the hazard of being infected with some part of the scurrility of their stile and language, at least so far as to make it recoil upon the authors.

The

The Italians (who are said to be a most cunning and discerning people) have a very odd, but shrewd proverbial prayer, "God preserve me from my friends; I'll beware of my enemies." The moral of which is, no doubt, that our friends (if they take advantage thereof) have many more opportunities of betraying, deceiving, and over-reaching us, than our professed enemies can ever be supposed to have. The consideration of which may sufficiently justify my being so particular, in several chapters, concerning the proceedings of our friends, the Dutch, and separate traders on the coast of Africa.

RE-

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

Constitution and Management

OF THE

AFRICAN TRADE, &c.

INTRODUCTION.

EXperience, that great baffler of speculation, makes it evident, by innumerable instances, which may be brought from the annals and transactions of all ages, that the wisest of councils, even parliaments, have been, and still may be, mistaken in their measures and views of things, whenever they proceed either upon misinformation as to points of fact, or upon bare speculative suppositions.

Thence it is, that our legislators have so frequently, upon better information, found it necessary to alter, amend, and sometimes repeal several laws

laws and acts, even of their own making, and to enact new ones in their stead.

When the parliament, ann. 9 and 10 Gul. thought fit to pass an act for settling the trade to Africa, in such manner as is particularly expressed in the said act, beyond all peradventure, they did it upon such grounds and views as seemed most reasonable to them at the time; and I freely own, that though I had not any particular concern in that act, yet I was one of the number of those who could not then forbear expressing a satisfaction at the passing thereof, as giving implicit credit to the plausible topick then made use of, That the laying of that trade open, without any restraint or limitation, would not only have been more agreeable to the common liberty of the subject, but be likewise a mean to improve and carry it on, to the more general satisfaction and advantage of the whole nation; for the truth is, I had not then examined, or fully considered, the nature and circumstances of that trade, as differing from that of all others in many respects.

Yet when, in the course of above 10 years tryal and experience of letting that trade lie open to all her majesty's subjects indistinctly, we see that the success thereof falls so far short of our expectations, that neither the company alone, nor the separate traders jointly considered, nor the British plantations in America, nor the nation in general, are gainers thereby; yea, that on the contrary, the company's joint stock seems to be daily decreasing, the separate traders are some of them ruined, and others discouraged by considerable losses, the planters complaining extremely of the great scarcity of, and extravagant advance upon the price of negroes, while others, at the same time,

time, are complaining of the low and mean prices of woollen and other British manufactures on the coast of Guinea; and if some few of them happen to be gainers by that trade, I have too much ground to believe, that their success is not so much the effect of the present constitution, as of some other indirect causes: the consideration of all which did induce me to make some enquiry into what should be the real cause of this great disappointment to the nation; and for obtaining satisfaction therein, I was desirous to have, in the first place, conversed with, and procured information from some of the separate traders themselves, as to what related more immediately to their several and respective interests, but these gentlemen not having any particular fixed place, nor common trustees or servants, that I know of, for keeping any general record of their proceedings, correspondencies, discoveries or observations, I found it impracticable to obtain such information or satisfaction from them, as the nature of the case seems to require; and some few of them, with whom I had occasion to converse upon that head, insisted mainly on the bad success of the present company, and that with such indecent language and despiteful reflections, as, I own, gave me but a very indifferent impression of either their temper or veracity, though, as to their own performances, they commonly shifted treating of such particulars as could be of any material use for my present purpose, but referred me generally to those political computations and accounts of things, which were presented by them, or in their names, to the commissioners for trade and plantations, and to such printed abstracts thereof as were dispersed among the members

members of parliament the last year, on which I could truly lay but very little stress, especially since I saw the suggestions therein contained so flatly contradicted, and (at least seemingly) confuted by some certain observations thereupon, which were soon thereafter printed and published, on behalf of the Royal African Company. But I shall take occasion to consider these political computations more particularly hereafter, in their proper place.

I had then recourse to a worthy gentleman of that company, who, guessing at the design of my enquiry, very frankly and courteously procured me a sight of their books, and ordered one of their clerks to allow me, whenever I pleased, the perusal of all such advices and accounts as were, at any time, sent home to the company, either from the coast of Africa or the Western Plantations, which (notwithstanding all the difficulties under which I find they have long struggled) yielded me infinitely more satisfaction than at first I could have well imagined; for whosoever would be at the pains to go through the several volumes of memoirs, declarations, affidavits and epistolatory accounts which they have by them, full of the company's transactions with relation to the Dutch, French, Portugueze, Danes, Brandenburgers, natives, interlopers, and separate traders, upon that coast, for many years past, may easily see that the different interests and designs of our many contending rivals, for engrossing the riches and trade of that vast continent, together with the many new circumstances and unexpected emergencies which must daily attend such a rivalry and emulation in trade, do naturally require a very considerable joint stock, a

coercive power, exact œconomy, intense and vigilant application, and a larger share of the royal and parliamentary countenance at home, and protection abroad, than the present company has ever had, for carrying on that trade, so as to make it a permanent, creditable and advantageous trade to the nation.

To illustrate which position, I shall not amuse the reader with long prefatory discourses, concerning the many advantages of foreign trade in general, or of this valuable branch thereof in particular, that being a point so universally acknowledged already, that the going about to prove it would be almost as needless as to write an elaborate dissertation for proving that the sun, without the interposition of a cloud, must shine in our horizon by twelve o'clock of the day.

But taking it therefore as unquestionably granted, that the trade to Africa is, and must always be, of very great importance to Britain, and the British plantations in America, I shall briefly state the main question in debate thus: Whether, as we are now circumstanced, with relation to our many foreign competitors on the coast of Africa, it may be thought more advisable for the nation's interest and advantage, to carry on that trade by a collective society of capable and intelligent men, having one and the same joint stock, interest, designs, and uniform rules of government and management, with exclusive privileges, &c. or by all such persons, indistinctly, as have a mind to trade thither, when and how they please, with separate stocks, divided interests, and different designs and rules of management?

Truly, for my part, I think that, according to such views as I have now of these matters, the very putting of the question seems near to resolve it; yet, in order to discuss it more distinctly, and to the more general satisfaction of all who think themselves any way concerned, and that I may not seem to advance my own opinion too magisterially, without considering the nature and importance of the point controverted, I shall, with as much brevity and perspicuity as I can, make some retrospection into the progress of our trade to Africa, ever since we had any footing there, consider the methods and politicks always practised by our rivals on that coast, and, by comparing the transactions of past times with our present circumstances, draw such natural inferences and conclusions from the same, as (without regard to the private interest, caprice, humour or designs of particular contending parties) may seem most agreeable to reason, and most conducive to the improvement and security of the British interest in general, on that coast, for the future.

C H A P.

C H A P. I.

An account of the rise and progress of our trade to Africa, preceding the year 1697.

ABOUT the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's, and in the beginning of her successor King James's reign, some London adventurers made several attempts, separately, for carrying on a trade to the coast of Africa; yet all that I can find any of them ever gained thereby, was merely a bare discovery, and dear-bought experience, that probably an advantageous trade might have been carried on thither, provided they had had a stock and power sufficient for that end, and had known how to preserve their men from the dangerous influence and effects of the pestilentious air of that strange climate, and from the barbarous cruelties of the treacherous natives. But these adventurers wanting proper means for the aforesaid purposes, and meeting with some severe rebukes upon that account, did, by degrees, lay aside all thoughts of making any farther attempts that way.

The first attempt made by the English, for trading to Africa, proved abortive.

Whereupon King James did, in the 16th year of his reign, grant a charter, under the great seal of England, to Sir Robert Rich and other citizens

King James 1st grants an exclusive charter for trading to Africa.

of London therein mentioned, together with such other persons as they should think fit, to assume and incorporate into one body politick, for raising a joint stock to carry on a trade to Africa, and that with exclusive privileges, as to all his Majesty's other subjects, under no less penalty than the forfeiture

of both ship and cargo, to the use of these joint adventurers, for their encouragement.

Private traders intrude, and then the trade is quite relinquished.

But scarcely had this infant company of joint adventurers made the experiment of two or three several voyages, when some other private merchants, becoming envious of these their fellow-citizens apparent view of success, would needs try their own fortunes likewise, by interloping clandestinely upon the same coast; upon discovery whereof, some disputes did arise between them and the company, which breaking out soon thereafter into an open rupture, the company insisted upon the privileges of their charter, the other on their natural right; and both parties growing wearied at last with such debates, as well as with their mutual losses, withdrew the shattered remains of their several and respective stocks, by which means that trade happened to lie again wholly neglected for some years together.

The Dutch very intent on that trade.

In the mean time, some other European nations, but more especially the Dutch, pursuing still their designs of fixing and securing to themselves the trade of Africa, by cultivating a friendship with the natives, building of forts, and settling of factories on that coast, and by supplanting the Portuguese, who were settled there long before them, some of our most intelligent merchants represented the same to King Charles the first, as also the consequences which they thought might

K. Charles 1st grants an exclusive charter, which was confirmed by the Ufurpers, in 1651.

naturally attend the supine neglect of that trade; whereupon his Majesty did, in the 7th year of his reign, grant a new charter, under the great seal, to Humphrey Slaney, Nicholas Crisp and Co. with such ample privileges,

wileges, exclufions, prohibitions and penalties, as in the former charter were contained: which laft charter was, in the year 1651, confirmed and exemplified to Rowland Wilfon and Co. by the governing power at that time.

But confidering the many convulfive fits and diftractions which in thofe days embroiled and confounded the government of both church and ftate throughout this ifland, we need not wonder that our trade to Africa fell, at the fame time, into very great diforders; for the unreftained liberty which interlopers affumed of trading as they pleased, without any regard to the rights of the company, fet them and the company together by the ears; and then the Dutch and Danifh companies, taking hold of the opportunity which our domeftick commotions and divifions did adminifter to their designs, they increafed the number of their forts, factories and fhips of war on the coaft of Africa, by which they not only encouraged, advanced and defended their own trade and navigation, but likewise wholly obftructed that of their neighbours; infomuch that, befide demolifhing the forts, and quite ruining the ftock of that company, they took the fhips and goods of other private Englifh traders, to the value of about £. 300,000, as appeared by their petitions to the parliament after the reftoration of King Charles the fecond.

Interlopers
break in: the
trade is quite
open.

The Dutch and
Danes feize the
fhips and goods
of Englifh tra-
ders, and the
trade ruined.

How far thefe loffes were any way confidered or repaired by that parliament, I know not; but upon a representation made foon thereafter, to King Charles the fecond, that the Britifh plantations in America were, by degrees, advancing to

such a condition as necessarily required a greater yearly supply of servants and labourers than could well be spared from hence, without the danger of

K. Charles 2d invites his subjects to raise a joint stock for carrying on the African trade; and in the year 1662 grants an exclusive charter to the subscribers.

depopulating his Majesty's native dominions, his Majesty did (upon account of supplying these plantations with negroes) publickly invite all his subjects to the subscription of a new joint stock, for recovering and carrying on the trade to Africa; and the then designed subscription being compleated accordingly, his Majesty

did, in the year 1662, grant a new charter to the subscribers of that joint stock, by the name of the Company of Royal Adventurers of England for carrying on a trade to Africa, with the same exclusions, prohibitions, penalties, forfeitures and immunities which were contained in the several charters formerly mentioned.

The Dutch war breaking out; Adm. de Ruyter destroys or takes the English forts in Africa, seizes their ships and goods, &c.

But scarcely had that new company put themselves into a condition of trading, when a war breaking out with the States of Holland, in the year 1664, the Dutch (who seldom or never neglected the taking hold of any opportunity for engrossing to themselves as much as they could of either that or any other beneficial trade) did, in the very beginning of that war, send orders to their admiral De Ruyter, with a squadron of 13 men of war, which lay then at Gibraltar, to make sail for the coast of Guinea, and to set upon the English there; which he so effectually performed, that in the year 1665, he not only destroyed most of their factories, took Cormanteen-castle, Toco-rary-fort, and other places on that coast, but likewise

wife seized on several ships and goods belonging to the English company, insomuch that their loss thereby was computed to upwards of £. 200,000; by which means that company's stock was so much reduced, that they were quite discouraged, as well as disabled, from making any farther considerable efforts for retrieving and carrying on that trade to any purpose, without some new help.

Whereupon his Majesty, considering that the said trade was in imminent danger of being wholly lost to the nation, and conceiving that the establishing a new company, with a new stock, upon surrender of the former company's charter, would be the most effectual Means for recovering and carrying on that trade, did, in the year 1671, publickly invite all his subjects residing in foreign plantations, as well as here at home, to subscribe what sums they pleased towards carrying on the aforesaid trade; and thereupon many of the nobility, gentry and merchants, having, in the compass of nine months time thereafter, subscribed for and compleated the then designed stock, his Majesty granted a new charter, in the year 1672, to these new subscribers, distinguished by the denomination of the Royal African Company of England, with the same exclusions and privileges which the former company had, it being previously stipulated, that out of this last stock satisfaction should be given to the former company, for the estimated value of the remains of such castles, forts and settlements, as were then in their possession on the coast of Africa, which was done accordingly.

K. Charles 2d, upon surrender of the former charter, grants a new charter, with encouraging privileges to the present Royal African company, 1672

The African trade very advantageous to the company, and the nation in general, before the interlopers intruded after the Revolution.

The trade to Africa being thus settled again, and carried on, by the uniform influence, direction and management of a society of persons, who had the countenance and protection of the government at that time, they introduced and encouraged the making of several sorts of woollen and other goods, proper for the trade of Guinea, not formerly manufactured in England, and reduced the making thereof to a staple and settled goodness; they exported yearly upwards of £. 70,000 worth of the said woollen and other manufactures, and gave far better prices for the same than what usually is now given for the like; they furnished the western plantations with frequent supplies of considerable numbers of negroes, at very moderate rates, and in so encouraging a manner too, that they sometimes trusted the planters to the value of £. 100,000 and upwards, till they could conveniently pay the same; they imported (beside elephant's teeth, red-wood, and other goods, fit for being manufactured at home) such quantities of gold-dust from the coast of Africa, that they frequently coined 30, 40, or 50,000 guineas at a time, with the elephant upon them for a mark of distinction; and in effect they managed matters so, as that, for several years together, that trade did not only produce an annual dividend of certain profits to all the particular adventurers in the joint stock, beside a multiplication of their capital, but likewise several other publick and national advantages to the whole kingdom, and the British plantations in general.

But

But some time after the late Revolution, several private traders (then commonly called interlopers) assuming again a liberty of trading separately to Africa, without any regard to the company's charter, few or none of them had then any other consideration in view, than barely the ready disposal of all such cargoes as they carried along with them (no matter to whom, or which way) and the speedy procuring of negroes, or any other commodities which they could get on that coast, whether by purchase or otherways, so as not to stay long there; for accomplishing which design, they stuck at nothing, but were too frequently guilty of such sinister practices, as proved not only very injurious to the private interest of the company, but likewise disgraceful and pernicious to the British interest in general, among the natives, insomuch that the company's agents were frequently obliged to vindicate the company, by making the natives sensible that they were none of the company's ships or servants; and as the impunity of such practices did encourage the authors to persevere, for some time, in such like courses, so others likewise taking their views and measures from the seeming success of the former, without any regard to the consequences of trading in that manner, joined in an outcry against the privileges of the company, as a monopoly inconsistent with the liberty of the subject, and not established by act of parliament; and that therefore they would exercise their natural right of trading to Africa, as well as the company.

The interlopers break in upon the company's privileges, and are guilty of several undue practices.

Thus

The interlopers endeavour to lessen the company's credit.

Thus they went on for some time ; and to give the more colourable title to such their proceedings, they never failed to magnify and improve any casual loss or misfortune which happened to the company during the late war, as if that had been the natural effect of trading by a joint stock ; in-
somuch, that whosoever could contrive the most effectual methods for lessening the company's credit and interest, either at home or abroad, whether by detraction or otherways, was among them accounted the bravest adventurer.

The Dutch company's agents foment divisions in the British interest in Guinea.

Nor were the agents of other nations, particularly those of the Dutch West-India company, ever wanting in cherishing, upon all occasions, the authors and fomenters of any divisions in the British interest on the coast of Guinea, but endeavoured, with all their art and skill, to make such improvements thereof, as they thought might best serve their ends, with the natives upon that coast.

The Royal African company address'd the parliament : but the parliament, 1697, is induced to lay the trade open for 13 years.

Whereupon, after long forbearance, the company at last address'd the parliament, by petition, for relief : but some others, at the same time, alledging very confidently, that if the trade to Africa were laid open to all such persons as had a mind to trade thither, the same would not only be more agreeable to the natural liberty of the subject, but also that thereby several new discoveries would be made, many places then unknown traded into, much greater quantities of the English manufactures exported of course, and that the plantations would be furnished with ne-

groes in greater numbers, and at cheaper rates, than could be expected from the company alone; by which alluring suggestions and plausible pretences the parliament was, in the year 1697, induced to make an experiment, by giving permission to all persons whosoever, as well as the company, to trade to Africa for the term and space of 13 years, they paying to the company a duty of 10 per cent. towards defraying the charges of their forts and castles, for the defence and preservation of that trade to the nation.

C H A P. II.

An account of the progress of our trade to Africa since the year 1697, together with a clear view of the present state thereof.

THE trade to Africa being thus laid open, not only such as were more immediately concerned in contriving and advancing that project, but likewise a considerable number of other persons (who before that time had scarcely ever any occasion to have examined, considered, or tolerably well understood the nature and circumstances of that trade) becoming it seems intoxicated with such deluding notions and golden dreams, as the former had, for obtaining their own private ends, industriously propagated, touching the vast gains to be had by a separate trade to the Gold Coast, did, without any farther consideration,

The novelty of laying open the trade to Africa, by act of parliament, induced many to trade thither, who soon repented it.

deration, plunge themselves, over head and ears, into an African trade, and persevered therein for some time, until, by degrees, most of them came off, at last, with the weeping-cross, repenting them too late of their credulity and rashness, and wishing, that instead of pursuing a trade which, upon trial, they found they did not truly understand, they had bestowed their time, credit, pains and substance in the carrying on and improvement of the several trades, callings and employments, to which they were respectively bred.

Several particular abuses committed by the private traders.

But as there ever has been, and in all probability still will be, some sort of people in the world, who make it their interest to fish in troubled waters; so, even as to the laying open this trade, there were too many who wanted no more towards compassing their own private designs, than the obtaining a legal and uncontrollable permission for trading separately on the coast of Guinea; under the colour of which permission they have, to the unspeakable detriment and discredit of the British interest in general, used such unaccountable methods, and been guilty of such intolerable practices, as I could not have believed, if I had not seen several concurring testimonies, and undeniable vouchers, for proving the truth thereof; some of them surprizing, seizing and carrying away with them, such negroes, elephants teeth, and other goods, as happened to fall conveniently within their reach, without paying any thing for the same, and making such of these negroes, as they understood to be of any distinguishing character, redeemable at the rate of three for one; others, by rewards and promises, enticing many of the company's trustees and servants to relinquish and abandon their master's interest,

pro-

proclaiming maliciously among the natives, and all others along the coast, that the company was entirely broke, and their managers here at home threatened to be put in Newgate, for begging leave (as they alledged) of the parliament, to sell their forts and factories to the French, and deducting two-thirds of their servants wages, &c. Which scandalous allegations happened, nevertheless, to have the desired pernicious effect, inso-much that, though all the company's servants are bound by oath not to trade directly or indirectly, during their service, except only for, and upon account of the company, yet several of them were, by such means, induced forthwith to desert their master's service, others to sell lumping penny-worths of some of the company's negroes, gold, elephants teeth, and other goods, to some of the separate traders, as also to send home several parcels of gold, on their own private accounts, by the separate traders ships; upon discovery of which, or such like practices, they commonly entered into the service of the separate traders: and as the separate traders ships were as so many sanctuaries to such of the company's servants as proved any way treacherous to their masters interest, so the Dutch forts were, and still are, common sanctuaries to both the former.

Thus the Dutch company's agents, by cajoling and caressing the separate traders, and drawing on a subtle kind of smuggling trade with them, for the time, as they were not wanting, on the one hand, in encouraging all such practices as these, and fomenting daily divisions in the British interest, so, on the other hand, they never failed, with all their usual art and skill, to make a suitable

The Dutch company's agents cajol the private traders, and instigate the natives against the Royal African company.

im-

improvement thereof among the natives, who thereupon became so insolent as not only to break many of their former agreements with the company, but also, on some occasions, insulted even some of the company's forts and factories, to the great detriment and interruption of their trade, until that, by renewed presents and other proper means used, these differences between them and the company's agents came to be compromised and accommodated, from time to time, according as the natives happened to be more or less influenced by the suggestions and management of either the Dutch agents or separate traders.

The Royal African company raise and advance 180000*l.* of additional stock.

The company, finding themselves so hardly thus beset on all sides, thought fit to contribute and advance £. 180,000 of additional stock, beside what money they borrowed upon their bonds, for maintaining, repairing and supplying their forts and factories, as well as for keeping up some face of a regular trade, and preserving the same to the nation, until they could have a seasonable opportunity for laying their case before the parliament.

The natives advance the prices of negroes, and beat down the prices of our British manufactures.

Yet still the natives, who are known to be a very cunning, as well as deceitful people, never missed catching hold of the advantages which they saw naturally arising to themselves, from our separate interests, as well as different methods of management; yea, they acted their part therein so very artfully, that, without regard to either the company or separate traders, they not only raised the price of negroes, gold, elephants teeth, and all other African productions, to a most intolerable rate, far exceeding what the company ever paid

paid for them before the trade was laid open, but have also, at the same time, depreciated and beat down the value of all woollen and other British manufactures to a meer drug upon that coast; in-
somuch that, as the trade is now managed, it is next to impossible for either the company, or scarcely any of the separate traders who deal upon the square, or have any regard to a national interest, to be gainers by it; for the separate traders contending always, not only with the company, but also one with the other among themselves, for precedency in point of dispatch, as having neither patience nor convenience for staying any considerable time upon the coast, do commonly submit to such terms and conditions of barter as the natives think fit to impose upon them, rather than go away without investing their goods, or purchasing a competent number of negroes, at any rate; by which pernicious example the company's agents were forced, by degrees, to lower their sales also, unless they would resolve to stand by and look on like so many idle spectators: and I am convinced it had been better for the company's particular interest that they had done so all this time, were it not merely for the preservation of their forts and factories, and for keeping up the face of a regular trade, which may still be a foundation, and yield some prospect of future gain, if the trade were once put upon a right foot.

Nor do the evil consequences of these separate interests stop here; for the merchant, to save his own bacon, as much as he can, imposes these negroes again on the planters in America, at such exorbitant rates as the planters cannot possibly afford to give, without a proportional advance

The merchant imposes the negroes on the planters at exorbitant rates, and the planters advance the prices of sugar, &c.

on

on the prices of sugar, cotton, indigo, &c. From all which it may be easily observed, that (like a virulent distemper affecting the blood) a fundamental error in the constitution of so essential a branch of our foreign trade, as that to Africa, must of course diffuse itself through the whole circle of our trade in general.

The Royal African company, from too convincing a sense of the many fatal consequences thus attending such a pernicious and irregular management, influenced by the several interfering interests of different contending parties, as well as

from a due regard to their own pressing circumstances at the time, thought fit, in Nov. 1707, to address the Queen, by petition, in a most humble and dutiful manner, "Praying that her Majesty would be graciously pleased to recommend their case to the parliament." Which petition being referred to the previous

consideration of the commissioners for trade and plantations, it so happened (as it too often does in many other cases, where such as have the

worst cause are commonly the most vigilant and industrious) that some of the separate traders, by an early and close application, with the help of some political, or rather fallacious computations, as to their own imaginary performances, and several groundless suggestions against the company, had prepossessed the commissioners with such an opinion of the supposed advantages arising from a separate trade, compared with these of a joint stock, that several scruples and questions arising thereupon, the commissioners were, it seems, afraid that they could not obtain such proper vouchers

vouchers and adminicles from the coast of Africa, or the plantations, in time, as might enable them to put these matters in so clear a light as they could have wished, before the end of the last parliament; and therefore, rather than be thought any way negligent of their duty, did, in February last, prepare a report to be laid before her majesty, wherein they repeat the several allegations and political computations aforesaid, given in to them, in name of the separate traders, touching the contents of the company's said petition.

And though the dissolution of the last parliament, before the said report could have been ripely considered, gave occasion, it seems, to its having been laid aside, yet several copies thereof having clandestinely crept abroad, and fallen into the hands of some persons who make sinister improvements thereon, my present purpose obliges me to take some notice of the political computations and imaginary suppositions therein mentioned; for some of the separate traders (probably the very same who first had the confidence to obtrude these fallacious computations upon the commissioners) are now, by a new way of reasoning, endeavouring to impose the same vain imaginations, as real truths, upon the whole kingdom, by their prints and otherways; they repeat the same suggestions and computations upon all occasions, and, with an assurance as singular as their manner of reckoning, quote some certain paragraphs out of their own original allegations, by way of extracts out of the said report, and then adduce them as vouchers, for supporting the very same allegations again in taverns, coffee-houses, and else-

The commissioners report laid aside, but copies thereof spread abroad, and sinister uses made thereof.

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where:

where: which is such a circle of sophistry, for bantering men out of their senses, as, I own, surpasseth all the rules of logick that ever I heard of.

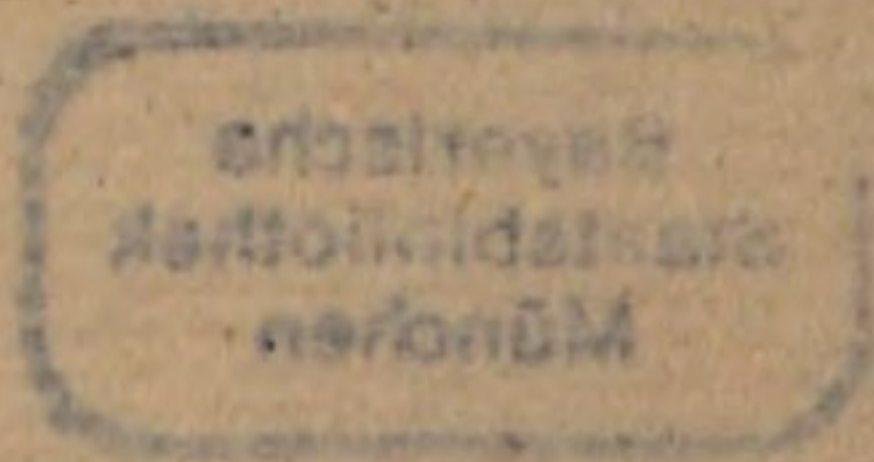
C H A P. III.

A detection of the fallacious topicks insisted on by the separate traders, with a continuation of the state of the African trade.

The private traders suggestions are particularly confuted by certain remarks on the said report, lately given in to the commissioners for trade.

I Think it needless here, to give the reader or myself the trouble of tracing these separate traders (or rather such as seem now to personate them) through the wilderness of all their wild suggestions and imaginations, especially since I am informed, that their inconsistencies are already more than sufficiently exposed, in a certain paper lately given in, by the Royal African company, to the lords commissioners for trade and plantations; yet, for a sample and test of the separate traders candor and ingenuity, to the end that (according to the common saying) “the lion may be known by his paw,” I shall detect the fallacies of two or three of these general topicks, upon which they seem to lay their greatest stress, and which, in effect, may be said to include all the rest.

With



With design, no doubt, to make themselves and their method of trading very popular and acceptable to the nation, they alledge in their prints, that they have exported £. 125,000 worth of woollen and other manufactures yearly, since the trade to Africa has been laid open; yea, by the very accounts which they had the assurance to give in to the aforesaid commissioners, they make their annual exports to be about £. 98,240; and the way they pretend to prove both the one and the other, is thus: They say that they fitted out a certain number of ships yearly from the port of London, and a supposed number of ships yearly from the plantations, and the ports of Bristol, Liverpool, and other out-ports of the kingdom; then they suppose that every one of these ships, great and small, one with another, without any distinction, carried out as valuable a cargo as the biggest of those ships employed by the company; to this they add the yearly amount of the ten per cent. duty paid by them, upon their real export, when at the highest: and thus, by setting one mountain a-top of another, they have, in their own conceit, reared up their imaginary tower of Babylon to a most prodigious height at last.

The alledged export of the separate traders proved to be fabulous.

I must confess, if there could have been no more certain rule fallen upon, for computing the value of their yearly exports, than this fallacious method of theirs, then the introducing of what they call political arithmetick, might, in some measure, have been allowable; but when, to their own certain knowledge, there are strict and regular accounts of the value of all such exports, as are

An appeal to the Custom-house books.

made by these separate traders, kept at all the ports of the kingdom, and confirmed by the entries and oaths of the very exporters themselves, I think it no breach of charity to affirm, that their not making the Custom-house books the standard and rule of their accounting, in computing the value of these exports, does tacitly imply somewhat more than a bare suspicion, that the framers of these political accounts had a shrewd design of imposing upon the nation to a most insufferable degree.

A certain dilemma, to which the separate traders are desired to give a categorical answer, if they can.

But to come closer to the point; it appears evidently, by their own oaths and entries in the Custom-house books of London, Bristol and other out-ports of the kingdom, that their annual exports, these six or seven years past, on an average, did not exceed £. 33,883 13s. 8d. at most. Now, the oaths of these separate traders being thus kept upon record, either they swore justly, or they did not; if justly (which in charity I am inclined to believe they did) then this Babylonish tower of their political computations falls to the ground of course; but if otherwise, then it must be allowed, that they have not only cheated the company of their 10 per cent. duty for the overplus of their exports, but have likewise, to shun the payment of that duty, perjured themselves into the bargain. These gentlemen are at their liberty to choose which branch of the alternative they think fit; and if any of their most celebrated champions in sophistry can extricate them handsomely out of this unlucky dilemma, it is more than I look for.

Then,

Then, after supposing an indefinite number of chimerical suppositions, which no considering or intelligent person can ever either suppose or grant, they infer, I must own, a most pertinent and natural conclusion, fully as supposititious as the premisses, viz. That since the trade to Africa has been laid open, they carried at least 25,000 negroes yearly to the plantations, and sold them there from 14 to 20 and 23 *l.* per head, at most; and, to give the better colour to this fictitious account, they make a very formal distribution of these supposed negroes among the plantations, thus:

The alledged numbers of negroes, carried by the separate traders to the plantations, proved to be grossly fictitious.

To	{	Barbadoes	—	—	—	—	4000
		the Leeward-Islands	—	—	—	—	4000
		Virginia and Maryland	—	—	—	—	4000
		Carolina and New-York	—	—	—	—	1000
		Jamaica	—	—	—	—	12000
							—————
							25000

For the confutation of this fallacious account, I shall, in the first place, shew the inconsistency thereof, compared with the amount of their exports, and then adduce undeniable testimonies touching the real numbers of negroes which they furnished to the plantations, and at what prices.

The separate traders disingenuity proved from their own undeniable exports.

By what has been already said, it is evident that the amount of the separate traders exports, these six or seven years past, in an average, does not exceed £. 33,883 13*s.* 8*d.* per ann. at most.

It is acknowledged by all parties, that the value of these exports, consisting chiefly in woollen

manufactures, is fallen about cent. per cent. of the price, at which the company sold them formerly on the coast of Guinea.

It is acknowledged likewise, that the prices of negroes on the coast of Guinea is now generally advanced to 10, 12 and 13 *l.* per head; yet to see how far it can serve these gentlemen's purpose, I'll allow that they bought all their negroes at *£*. 8 per head.

Now I'll suppose with them (though the contrary be most certain) that they have not bestowed any part of their exports in the purchasing of either gold, elephants teeth, red-wood, provisions for negroes, or the like, but that they have invested all the aforesaid sum of *£*. 33,883 13*s.* 8*d.* in negroes only, at *£*. 8 per head; yet, even at that rate, and in that manner, the aforesaid sum could not have purchased any more than 4235 negroes at most.

Then I'll suppose, with them, that no accident, or any misfortune whatsoever, occasioned by sickness, storms, or the war, has lessened that number, from the time of purchasing them on the coast of Guinea, till they were delivered all safe in the plantations; and yet still, when I have allowed these gentlemen more than, in reason, I can allow them, I cannot find out any shadow of pretence for supposing a medium, by which to allow them the remaining 20,765 of their imaginary number of 25,000 negroes per ann. unless we suppose them to have dropt from the clouds.

But leaving this method of calculating numbers, by meer suppositions, to such as are more in love with it than I am, I come now to the plain, familiar, old-fashioned way of finding out the truth or untruth of people's assertions, by certain instances of positive points of fact.

I have lately seen a certificate, under the seal of the Naval-office of Barbadoes, containing a list of all the vessels arrived there from the coast of Africa, with an account of all the negroes imported in them, from the 2d of Jan. 1701-2, to the 10th of Aug. 1708. It mentions not only the ships and masters names, with the days of every month on which they arrived, but likewise the respective numbers of negroes which each ship carried apart. By which certificate it appears, that the whole number imported into that island, by the private traders, in almost seven years time, is only 6063, which, in an average, is little more than 900 per ann. So that their fictitious importation of 4000 negroes per ann. to that island, may be added to the rest of their fables.

The separate traders disingenuity proved by authentick certificates from the plantations.

Then as to their candor, in alleging that they sold these negroes to the planters from 14 to 20 and 23*l.* per head, I have very lately seen a petition to the honourable House of Commons, signed by the chief planters and inhabitants of Barbadoes, complaining of their not being supplied with a sufficient number of negroes; that both the company and private traders together have not, for five years past, imported thither above 2000 negroes per ann. at most, and that they were sold at extravagant prices, from 25 to 40*l.* per head: and I have seen another petition to the honourable House of Commons, signed by 71 of the principal planters and inhabitants of Montserrat, complaining likewise of their not being supplied with a sufficient number of negroes, and that the company and private traders

The prices of negroes in the plantations proved, by certificates from thence, to be more than double what the private traders alledge.

together have not, for several years past, imported above the number of 100 negroes per ann. to that island, and that these were sold at extravagant high prices, from 40 to 60 *l.* per head; and I saw just such another petition from the planters of Nevis. So, whether such testimonies as these, or the fabulous accounts published in name of the separate traders, ought to obtain most credit with any indifferent person, I leave it to the reader to judge.

The number of negroes imported to Jamaica incomparably short of the private traders imaginary allotment.

I am informed that several other petitions and accounts, of the like nature, are coming from the other British plantations and colonies in America; but, in the mean time, since the private traders thought fit, in their aforesaid imaginary distribution, to make an allotment of no less number than 12,000 negroes per ann. for Jamaica, I must put them in mind how that, by a particular account, formerly taken, of the several numbers imported by them in each ship, in any one of these years, when they made their greatest effort, the whole number imported by them to Jamaica amounted only to 2553 negroes: so that I must leave it to themselves to make up the remaining 9447 negroes of their annual allotment for that island the best way they can.

Instead of their alledged 4000, the separate traders imported only 130 negroes to Barbadoes, in a whole year's time.

It is true, they very imprudently made a mighty effort for a year or two at first, which indeed was occasioned by their ignorance and vain expectations of gaining vastly by a trade which they did not understand; but finding most of their ships returning with scarcely one half of their complement of slaves, others perishing in their voyages, by reason of delays upon the coast, beside

beside many other losses following thereupon, the far greatest part of these separate traders to Africa have already given that trade quite over, as may easily be judged by this one instance, That from Aug. 1707, to Aug. 1708, they have, instead of their boasted allotment of 4000, imported only 130 negroes to Barbadoes, the most considerable of all the Caribbee Islands.

And though, in their aforesaid political computations, they reckoned upon a supposed number of ships to be yearly sent to Africa, from Liverpool in particular, upon the presumption of its being known to be, of late, a port of considerable trade otherways; yet, after the inhabitants of that place had made an experiment, as several others did, there has not been so much as one ship sent from that town to Africa these six years past, nor indeed from any other port in Britain, except that of London, and some few from Bristol.

Their allegation of sending ships from other ports than that of London is a meer fable.

Yet such is the perverseness of some people's temper, that when they find all their loud acclamations, magnifying their own performances, not likely to answer their purpose, then they have recourse to spiteful invectives against the Royal African company, alledging that forts and settlements on the coast of Africa are altogether unnecessary for preserving and carrying on that trade, and that, if forts should be thought any way necessary for that purpose, yet those belonging to the company are generally useless, as not being in a condition to make any defence; for that, beside the alledged insufficiency of the fortifications themselves, they are always unprovided of stores, ammunition, and a sufficient number

A summary of the private traders calumnious charge against the company.

number of guns and men to defend them : and as an instance thereof, they confidently assert that James-Fort in the river of Gambia, and Sierra-Leon, were taken by the French in open boats ; adding farther, that all the company's forts and castles, jointly estimated, are not worth above £. 4100, and concluding, by a sort of fantastical account, of their own devising, that the company's stock must needs be worse than nothing.

To obviate all which unaccountable suggestions, I shall, in the first place, adduce several instances of positive points of fact to prove the inconsistency, as well as gross folly, of the aforesaid allegations, and then demonstrate, from the uncommon nature and many precarious circumstances of the trade, the absolute necessity of maintaining forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, for preserving and advancing the British interest there.

The private
traders charge
confuted from
their own
words.

The sincerity of these gentlemen's representations of things may be clearly seen from their own words, as they are repeated in the lords commissioners report, formerly mentioned : they say, in one part of the report, " That forts and castles are neither an advantage or security to the trade, but an unnecessary burthen ; for that, in time of peace, no advantage can be assigned to balance the expence, and in war they are not defensible against a foreign enemy ;" and yet, by a subsequent part of the same report, it appears that the private traders, to aggravate their suggestions against the company, have exhibited a grievous complaint, " That the company has not erected any fort on the Angola coast, which (they say) would have been of great benefit to the traders thither ; for that, in the year 1701-2, Capt. Eterfon and Capt. Cook

Cook were both taken, and the informer himself (whose name is not mentioned) with others, forced on shore, for want of a fort to defend them from the enemy." This is such a self-evident contradiction, that it puts me in mind of the old proverb, "Liars ought to have good memories." Nor indeed can I imagine how they can pretend to reconcile this latter complaint with their former assertion, unless they make a very subtle distinction between the usefulness of forts on the coast of Angola, and that of forts on the coast of Guinea, which truly would be as ridiculous as to say, in plain terms, that forts are necessary where the Dutch have none, and that where they have forts we need have none.

But to evacuate that pretence likewise, in case they should happen to build upon it, I shall condescend on some of many instances which may be given, for proving the usefulness of the latter, even to the private traders themselves, as particularly at Whidah. The company's chief, by his interest and power with the King there, and by threatening to intercept the trade of that country, by firing from the company's fort, &c. obtained restitution of a ship, with 300 negroes, taken in that road by the French; which ship did belong to Mr. Heysham, now a member of parliament: and the Mary of Barbadoes, Capt. Codnor, master, and several other ships belonging to the separate traders, and their cargoes, have, under the protection of Cape-Coast Castle, and by its great firing upon the enemy, been frequently preserved, yea, and their slaves and goods taken into the castle, for farther safety, when attempted to have been taken, by the French men of war and privateers, out of Cape-Coast Road.

The private traders confuted from points of fact.

As

The private traders allegation concerning James-Fort, &c. disproved by the indisputable testimony of a common enemy.

As to the separate traders allegation, that James-Fort and Sierra-Leon have been taken from the company, by the French, in open boats, I shall wave the company's own testimony in that matter, lest it may be thought too partial in their own favour, and betake myself wholly to the publick account thereof, which may be seen at large in the *Sieur Froger's* printed relation of *Monfieur de Gennes's* voyage to the coast of Africa, &c. by which it will appear, that *Monfieur de Gennes* had a squadron of six ships of force along with him in that expedition; and by the articles of capitulation, as they are particularly recited in the 21st, 22d, 23d and 24th pages of the said book, it is specially declared that, at the time of signing the said articles, "the several goods after-mentioned did belong to the Royal African company, viz. 500 quintals of morphil (or elephants teeth) 300 quintals of wax, 130 male negroes, 40 females in the island, 50 at *Gillofrie*, and above 80,000 crowns of merchandizes, at the usual rates of the country, as also 72 large cannons mounted, 30 not mounted, and a considerable quantity of warlike ammunition;" and in the 25th page the author (who was in person along with *Monfieur de Gennes* in that expedition, and consequently not a meer repeater of stories at the second or third hand) gives a full and particular description of the said fort, and, after taking notice of its being furnished with a prodigious quantity of arms, and that the magazines of powder were well stored, he declares expressly, that "if the governor had done his duty, the said fort had been impregnable." From all which the reader may judge of

of the private trader's veracity in other particulars.

Then, as to the value of all the company's forts, it is manifestly known, that in the year 1672, the Royal African company paid 34,000 *l.* to their predecessors, for the forts which they had then in their possession, and these were only three, viz. James-Fort and Sierra-Leon on the North Coast, and Cape-Coast Castle on the Gold Coast; nor were they then but in a very ordinary condition for defence, as being much out of repair: but since that time, the company has not only rebuilt and enlarged these three, but likewise gave 4000 *l.* for a fort which they bought from the Danes, and built the several other forts of Dickes-Cove, Succundee, Commenda, Queen-Ann's-Point, Annamabo, Winebah, Accra and Whidah, all new from the ground, besides their settling several other factories on that coast; the charge of all which, together with the expence of furnishing them with great guns, small arms, ammunition, provision and stores of all sorts, and with constant supplies and repairs, as also the interest of that money so laid out, could not but amount to several hundred thousands of pounds, though the company is so modest as not to charge any interest for the same, but have estimated the whole at 150,000 *l.* which estimation will still appear to be more moderate, if it be considered that, for one single fort belonging to the Brandenburg company, on the same coast, a person specially authorized by them to sell it, demanded 50,000 *l.* of the Royal African company about twelve months ago. Yet the private traders, by a method of probation peculiar to themselves, as well

The private traders malicious estimation of the company's forts and castles clearly disproved, and a just view given thereof.

as

as that of their computations, will needs impose a belief upon the nation, that all the Royal African company's forts and settlements above-mentioned are worth no more than 4100*l.* or thereabouts; and they prove it thus: They informed the commissioners for trade and plantations, that (at the time of passing the act for laying the trade open in the year 1698) all the forts and castles then in the company's possession were valued by some private traders (meaning such as were formerly called interlopers) who pretended to be well acquainted with the company's affairs, at no more than 41,000*l.* or thereabouts, which the commissioners repeated again in their afore said report; and the private traders have lately printed the very same words, by way of extract out of the said report, as a notable proof of the same assertion without doors; yea, and to mend the matter, they have either wilfully filched out, or negligently dropt, one of the cyphers of the said sum in the copying, by which means the 41,000*l.* is abridged to 4100*l.* So that, if such computations and proofs as these be sustained as real, it will be no difficult matter to make not only this company's stock, but likewise the stocks of all the companies in the kingdom, appear ridiculous, and worse than nothing, in the eyes of some sort of people.

A farther instance of the vexatious and restless spirit, by which the private traders do create matter of disturbance to themselves and others, to no other purpose at all.

Nor could the private traders rest satisfied here, until they had prompted the commissioners for trade to demand, from the Royal African company, "an account of the value of their joint stock in 1698, what sums have been since called in, what dividends were made by them during the afore said time, the value of their present stock, the debts owing by the company,

company, how often they had balanced their books, and what these balances had amounted to, &c." In compliance with the commissioners orders, the company gave them particular accounts of all the aforesaid heads, and several others of the same nature, but for what purpose is, I own, past my understanding. I cannot suffer myself to suppose that it could be towards rectifying any part of the constitution, because in that case they would, without doubt, have ordered the separate traders to have given in accounts likewise of the same nature, shewing the names and qualities of such as traded separately the first year after the parliament had granted them a permission to trade to Africa; who and how many of these were concerned in the same ships and stocks; what their several proportions were; how much of the money adventured by them was truly their own, and how much borrowed; what debts each of them owed; how much thereof was upon bond, and how much upon judgment; how many of them have been ruined by that trade, and put in the Gazette as bankrupts; how often all of them had adjusted their several and respective accounts; what profit the one had, and what loss the other; how the balance of profit and loss stood at the year's end, with respect to all the separate traders collectively considered; how many of those who traded the first year continued to trade the second, and so on progressively, from year to year, till this time. Beyond all peradventure, these gentlemen would have thought such an inquisition a very hard and disagreeable morsel for their own digestion, and yet, in effect, it would have been no more than what the company was obliged to swallow.

But

The bad effects of such a vexatious and needless inquisition and divided interest.

But truly, considering how very much all the merchants and other traders in Britain (whether in joint stock or separately, whether by wholesale or retail) do deal upon credit, it is most evident, that such expiscations as these may be very provoking, and of injurious consequence, but can never be of any real use towards settling and fixing the constitution of any trade, and much less of that to Africa, which is always attended with several uncommon circumstances; nor can it be of any importance towards settling the aforesaid trade on a right foot, to know whether the company or separate traders have traded for most stock, since it is unquestionably certain that neither of them have traded profitably; nor is it indeed morally possible, that ever they can trade to advantage upon the foot of a divided interest, which (as I have heard several gentlemen of the company declare) is the true reason why they have not traded all this time for more than they have done, nor raised a farther additional stock for that end. And although the company were not existent, yet the same divided interest would unavoidably have still remained among the separate traders themselves, and would consequently have produced the like or worse effects.

The sinister use which the private traders have made of the commissioners credulity.

It would be almost an endless labour, to enumerate and expatiate upon all the absurdities and inconsistencies which could naturally be inferred from the several topicks made use of by the separate traders, and therefore I shall, at this time, conclude what I have already said, on that head, with this general observation on the contents of the aforesaid report:

report: That the separate traders have not adduced any vouchers for supporting the several allegations, suggestions and suppositious computations which they had the confidence to give in to the commissioners for trade; and though the commissioners did not avouch these as truths, yet the transcribing them, by way of report, and intermixing them with such accounts as were demanded of the Royal African company, has happened to give them some more seeming authority than can reasonably be supposed to have been ever intended by the commissioners; for, by the instances already given, it is manifest that the separate traders have taken occasion from thence to print certain paragraphs of their own bare allegations, by way of extracts out of the said report, as vouchers to gain credit to the very same allegations again without doors. Which may serve as a caveat to such as now are, or hereafter shall be, at the helm of publick affairs, to be better satisfied, touching the nature and circumstances of things, and of the certainty of alledged points of fact, before they seem to give too much ear to suggestions, lest that, by the interposition of any shadow of their own authority, they may seem to give a currency to the false and counterfeit coin of others, under the colour of their own stamp.

C H A P. IV.

Some considerations on the nature and uncommon circumstances of the African trade.

The temper of the natives described.

Between Axim and Accra (not altogether 60 leagues along the Gold Coast, nor above 30 leagues up the country, which is the farthest that any European, now alive, ever pretended to have travelled towards the heart of that part of the continent) there are about 20 several petty principalities and states, governed by as many different Sovereigns, wholly independent of one another. The natives are generally so very poor and avaricious, and naturally so very mercenary and treacherous, even to one another, as well as to the Europeans, that the most solemn engagements can never secure their fidelity, longer than it makes for what they think to be their interest at the time, unless a coercive power oblige them to it; they are continually invading each other's property, and seizing one another's goods, which occasions perpetual wars among some or other of them; and the victors do commonly sell their vanquished neighbours, as well as their own slaves, to such European merchants as they happen to be most in friendship with at that time.

The practice of such Europeans as have settled on the coast of Africa.

All the European nations who trade to that coast, have, for establishing, preserving and improving their interest and power among these petty Sovereigns, found it necessary, at first, not only to bribe and engage their friendship with certain agreeable presents, but likewise (after

(after having, by such means, obtained the native proprietor's consent) to erect fortifications and settlements at such ports as they found most convenient for carrying on their designed trade; and as their power and interest increased, so they always, from time to time, augmented the number of such their fortifications and settlements.

The Sovereigns of these several countries have frequent alliances and confederations of peace and war with some one or other of their neighbours, against some other confederates on the same coast, and each of them do commonly confine the trade of their own and their confederates respective countries, at least the benefit of pre-emption, to the forts, factories and settlements of such European nations as are most dexterous in acquiring and preserving their friendship by renewed presents and alliances, as occasion requires, and by shewing a more than ordinary vigilance and care in supporting them against the infractions and depredations of others.

The nature of alliances on the coast of Africa.

The Dutch (who of all other European nations, are distinguished for being the most politick and designing people in trade) have left no means unessayed for engrossing as much as possibly they can of this trade to themselves; they have 11 several forts and settlements along the Gold Coast, and, upon all occasions, given very considerable bribes to the natives, as they themselves have acknowledged even in print*; nor have any of their trading companies ever been known to be very scrupulous or ceremonious in observing point of right with the people of any nation, whenever they

The practice of the Dutch company on the coast of Africa.

they found themselves vested with a sufficient power to execute their designs, and make their pretensions good. For proof thereof, many instances might be given, but the following noted one may serve at present :

The Portuguese were settled on the Gold Coast many years before the Dutch, yet the Portuguese not trading by a joint stock, as the Dutch always did, and consequently not being in a condition to maintain their precarious possession against an united force, were, by degrees, wholly supplanted and driven, by the Dutch, from all their settlements there; yea now, the Dutch do not only seize all the Portuguese ships which they find trading on that coast, and oblige them to pay an arbitrary duty of at least 25 *l.* per cent. of their whole cargo, for a permission to trade there, but make likewise a publick jest of them into the bargain : witness Mr. Bosman's scoffing character of them, in a book lately printed at Utrecht, viz. " That formerly the Portuguese served only for setting-dogs to spring the game, which, as soon as they had done, was commonly seized by others." And as the Dutch West-India company has served them thus on the coast of Africa, so it is well known that the Dutch East-India company has served them long ago, after the same manner, in the East-Indies.

The Portuguese do trade now by a joint stock, and have forts on the coast of Africa.

But experience (the ordinary school-mistress of fools) having, it seems, at last made the Portuguese wise enough, though somewhat too late) to see the necessity of trading to Africa by a joint stock, if at all, they have some years ago (as I am informed) followed that method, and have, at this time, two forts on the north coast of Africa, and one upon the

eye, and more intense application for rendering their designs and endeavours abortive, than can well be imagined by any one, at this distance, who has not been at more than ordinary pains to be informed concerning the several intrigues and transactions of the Dutch company's agents, in those parts, for a series of many years past.

The Royal African company takes precaution, from former usages of the Dutch companies.

The Royal African company, on the other hand, taking a just and necessary precaution, from the hard treatment which their predecessors had formerly met with on the coast of Guinea, and which others of their countrymen had likewise met with from the Dutch companies both in * Asia and America, as occasion offered, have, for the prevention of any such usage thereafter, as much as in them lay, and for securing and enlarging the British interest in Africa, purchased, built, repaired and maintained a greater number of forts and settlements on that coast than could have well been expected, while they were under the pressure of all these complicated difficulties and heavy circumstances with which they have struggled these twenty years past: they bought, built, or rebuilt, three forts on the North Coast, and ten forts, besides three factories, which they have on the South or Gold Coast.

These

* Vide De Britaine's Dutch Usurpation, 1672. Stub's Justification of the War against the Hollanders, 1672. And Sir Josiah Child's confutation of a treatise, intituled, A Justification of the Directors of the Netherlands East India company, 1688.

These forts and settlements are generally so contiguous to, and intermixed with the several forts of other European companies, and more especially the Dutch, that (as matters are carried on there) the interest, security and success of one company, seems, in a great measure, incompatible with that of the other.

It has been an old and constant practice of the Dutch West-India company, by presents and otherways, to create and foment quarrels between some of the neighbouring petty kings and states, and to assist the one side with arms, ammunition and other necessaries, upon promise and condition that (after prevailing against their enemies) they would turn all other Europeans out of their country, or at least to bring and confine as much as possibly they could of their trade to the Dutch forts and settlements. This necessarily obliged the Royal African company's agents, in self-defence, to follow much of the same or the like methods; which indeed produced not only many skirmishes and fightings between the natives, allies of the said respective companies, inasmuch that the agents and servants of these companies themselves came, at last, to be often personally engaged therein, but has likewise occasioned the forts, factories and settlements of these companies to have been sometimes insulted to a most injurious degree; yea, the Dutch company's agents, in order to gain their ends, have tried all the ways they could think of, to render the people of this nation contemptible in the eyes of the natives: they have represented us in very

The interest of other foreign companies incompatible with that of the Royal African company, & vice versa.

Instances of several ways by which the Dutch company's agents do study to lessen the British interest on the coast of Guinea.

ridiculous hieroglyphicks, or mock-pictures: they have shewn to the natives, by the map, what a little spot of ground Britain is, in comparison of the rest of the world, calling what part thereof they thought fit, by the name of Holland and its dominions. And after King William's accession to the throne of Great-Britain, the Dutch company's agents, to magnify their own country and power, told the natives, "That though King William was King over Britain, yet he was only one of their lords in Holland, &c."

The Dutch company seduce the Royal African company's servants

The Dutch company's agents have also a faculty of seducing the Royal African company's servants, by all the inticements imaginable; nor do they ever fail to encourage, entertain and defend such of them as desert their masters service: a practice so disagreeable to the naturally much more generous temper of the English, that they have always reprobated the same, by remonstrating against it the several generals of the Dutch company, as occasion required.

Several treaties between the agents of these two companies, but a perpetual private war carried on mutually, the one against the other.

Several treaties were set on foot, between the generals and agents of these two companies, for conciliating and compromising all such differences as happened between them, from time to time, and these treaties were observed, till the Dutch company's agents found out new occasions to break them; yet they never wanted new pretences and evasions in store, for shifting the blame directly off themselves: so that, upon the whole matter, it may very justly be said (without any paradox) that though the Dutch have been our confederates in Europe, during the last and present war, as finding their interest by it, and

and because indeed their own safety depends upon and is involved with ours, yet it is most certain that, without regard to either peace or war at home, the Dutch West-India company and the Royal African company of England have constantly maintained a sort of private war, the one against the other, for the empire of trade on the coast of Guinea, these 30 years past.

And when, with much care, trouble and expences, the Royal African company had brought their affairs to be in a condition of over-topping their foreign competitors in that trade, a more fatal enemy than the former sprung up here at home, in their own bosom, not only dividing their interest, and weakening their foundation, but likewise overturning and making void the very maxims of policy by which they supported and preserved the British interest in Guinea.

The separate traders destroy the Royal African company's maxims of policy on the coast of Africa.

I shall not say that the Dutch West-India company had directly employed any instruments for blowing the coal of our divisions, here at home, about the manner of carrying on the trade to Africa, but, if we may draw inferences from their former practices, they have given us sufficient ground to believe, that they are a people capable of doing such things, provided they find proper agents to work by; and I may confidently aver, that their caressing our interlopers formerly (when they were suppressing their own) and their cajoling our separate traders now, since the trade from hence has been laid open, looks too much like a design of making use of them as tools for ruining the British interest in

The separate traders play the game of the Dutch company for them.

in Guinea, by dividing it both at home and abroad.

Such of the separate traders as come within reach of the Dutch forts on the coast of Guinea, strike to them.

I had almost forgotten to tell that, among the many other artifices practised by the Dutch West-India company, for aggrandizing themselves and their interest in those parts, they oblige the generality of the separate traders ships to strike, and, in good manners, to salute their forts in Guinea; and then, from thence, they inculcate into the natives an opinion of the power and dominion which they exercise over the British ships and people.

An account of the names, situations, and distances one from the other, of the forts of the several European companies who have settlements on the coast of Africa.

But, to give the reader a more distinct notion of the usefulness of the forts and settlements formerly mentioned, and how they are intermixt with the forts of other nations, I shall subjoin an account of all their several names of distinction, with their respective situations, and distances one from another, as they lie along the coast, from north to south.

On the North Coast.

French	Senegal, in the entrance of the river Senegal.
French	Goree.
English	James-Island, in the entrance of the river Gambia.
Portugueze	Cutcheo.
Portugueze	Bisseo.
English	Bence-Island.
English	York-Island.

On

On the Gold Coast.

		Miles distant.			
Dutch	Axim	—	—	—	2
Brandenburgh	Aquedah	—	—	—	2
English	Dickies-Cove	—	—	—	3
Dutch	Butteroe	—	—	—	3
English	Succundee	—	—	—	15
Dutch	Shumah	—	—	—	9
English	Commenda	—	—	—	12
Dutch	Comenda	—	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
Dutch	De Mina	—	—	—	9
English	Cape-Coast	—	—	—	9
English	Fort-Royal	—	—	—	1
English	Queen-Ann's Point	—	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
Dutch	Mouree	—	—	—	2
English	Annissham	—	—	—	3
English	Annamabo	—	—	—	3
English	Agga	—	—	—	1
Dutch	Cormanteen	—	—	—	3
Dutch	Apough	—	—	—	30
English	Shidah	—	—	—	3
English	Winebah	—	—	—	7
English	Accra	—	—	—	36
Dutch	Accra	—	—	—	$\frac{1}{2}$
Danish	Accra	—	—	—	3
English French Dutch	} Whidah, the principal Place for purchasing great numbers of negroes, about half a mile distant from each other.				

From this clear view of the intermixed situation of all these forts and factories, the different designs and interests of the several contending proprietors thereof, the naturally avaricious mercenary tempers, rapacious

The necessity of maintaining forts and settlements on the coast of Africa farther evinced

cious

cious inclinations, and treacherous cruelties of the natives in general, the vicinity and multiplicity of the circumjacent petty principalities and states (whose enmity or friendship, in point of trade or any thing else, is chiefly governed by the several alliances and confederations which they make between themselves, as well as with the deputies or generals of the several European companies who trade among them) the constant underhand practices of these Europeans, whether in time of peace or war, and from the uncertainty and mutability of these alliances, except where their interest always ties the parties, according to the several emergencies which different times and things may produce, any considerate person may easily see the absolute necessity of maintaining forts and factories, for the security and preservation of the British interest on that coast; yea, the necessary use of them may be much more readily imagined than expressed. And certainly, how far soever the separate traders unaccountable zeal, against the Royal African company, may have transported their humour beyond the bounds of a cool reflection, concerning the usefulness of these forts, they may depend upon it, that if, by any misfortune whatsoever, they should happen to fall into the hands of our foreign competitors on that coast, then the best treatment which the private traders themselves could reasonably hope for, would be only Polyphemus's fate, to be the last that should be destroyed; that is, they would thereafter be strictly discharged from trading any farther upon that coast, without paying an arbitrary duty to the Dutch West-India company for their permission, as the Portugueze, who were there long before them, do at this time.

C H A P. V.

Some arguments, shewing that the constitution of the Turkey company, or of any other regulated open trade, cannot be suited to the nature and circumstances of the trade to Africa.

I Would gladly persuade myself, that the separate traders, at least the greatest part of them, are not of so tenacious a temper as to have hardened themselves against all manner of conviction, but that, on the contrary, they will be now prevailed upon, by the force of reason, to relinquish their former mistakes, and close heartily with such measures as, upon full and mature consideration, shall be thought most reasonable for carrying on the trade to Africa with the greatest security and advantage, upon a national foot; yet some few there are among them (I am told) whose private interest and designs have a quite different tendency, and therefore, rather than seem to acknowledge themselves to have been in an error all this time, are for persevering in the same error still, under the colour of a different denomination only; for, being convinced that the steps which they have already made are not justifiable, they propose that the trade to Africa should, by dissolving the present joint stock for good and all, be laid more open than ever, and carried on by a regulated company, like that to Turkey; yea,

The private traders propose now a regulated trade to Africa, upon the foot of such a constitution as that of the Turkey company.

the

A shrewd suspicion of the true reason why the private traders seem to slight the use of forts and settlements.

the view of some such scheme may probably be one great reason why they have been at so much pains to depreciate the value of the company's forts and castles, as hoping, if that project should happen to take, that the property of these would of course, at a very low estimation, fall into the hands of such persons only as should then think fit to trade thither.

The private traders propose now to maintain the forts, if they may have their will.

Nor can this be reckoned a meer suggestion, when we consider that the private traders have already made such advances therein, as to have signified to the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, that they are willing to come into a method for maintaining the forts and castles (if thought needful) upon the foot of a regulated open trade, like that to Turkey as afore said.

The private traders design to have a share at least of the company's property gratis.

This looks too much like an intention of dealing pretty roundly, in the first place, with the company's property, and that too after a most preposterous manner; but the stress of the argument not lying there, I shall wave the consideration thereof at present, and let the reader see that a regulated open trade to Africa, after the manner of that to Turkey, would be so far from mending the matter, that any farther experiment of that kind would, in all probability, compleat the ruin which the late experiment of laying the trade open has begun.

No man, I suppose, will doubt, but that a constitution may be very well suited to the nature and circumstances of one particular branch of foreign trade, which can never be properly adapted to another trade, unavoidably attended with quite different circumstances, and whose nature must consequently require a different constitution, as well as different rules of management.

The constitution of one trade not always suitable to the nature of another.

It is no part of my present purpose to find fault with the constitution of the Turkey, or any other regulated company of this kingdom; but, by the by, it is very observable that, out of Britain, there is no such constitution of trade in any other kingdom, state or commonwealth in the whole world, that ever I could read or hear of: for all those foreign trades which are regulated and confined to certain persons in Britain, qualified as the constitution of the Turkey company requires, are wholly open and free to all people indistinctly, in all other kingdoms and states whatsoever, in the same manner as our trade to Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c. is carried on. And I am persuaded that, upon examination, it would be thought no paradox to assert that, in the nature of convertible terms, any branch of foreign trade which can be carried on by a regulated open trade, such as that to Turkey, Russia, &c. might be carried on without any company at all; and that, vice versa, if it were not practicable to have carried on such trades as these without any limitation or regulation at all, such a constitution as that of the Turkey company could never have brought any of them to bear: but these being constitutions of earlier times,

The constitution of the Turkey company no where regarded or followed out of England.

times, when our foreign trade in general was in its infancy, in comparison to what it now is, and these branches of trade having ran in that channel, and being carried on all along in that method, for many years together, I should be sorry to see any new attempts made for altering the same, or making any infringements on the old constitution, innovations and new experiments being always dangerous in most cases of that nature.

No parallel between the nature of the trade to Turkey and that to Africa, farther demonstrated.

And that there is no parallel between the nature of the trade to Turkey and of that to Africa, may be farther seen from this, That whereas in Turkey there are, at most, but two or three principal places of trade, and all under the dominion and government of one Prince, whose subjects are tied by the rules and forms of certain courts of justice, it were no difficult matter for the Queen of Great-Britain, by her ambassador, to have her subjects there vindicated and righted, even if there had been no company, as the French King, the Venetians and the Dutch have done all along; but upon the coast of Africa there is an indefinite number of petty Princes and sovereign states, all independent of each other (as has been already related at large) and their people are so wholly void of all manner of principles of equity or justice, that, without the terror of a constant coercive power kept over their heads, on the one hand, and the temptation of such presents as are frequently made to them on the other, together with a politick management of the several alliances formerly mentioned, no European, who had any thing to lose, could ever reckon upon any safety among them. But if the separate traders to the coast of Africa will undertake to reduce all the natives

natives of that coast under the regular government of one Sovereign, and charm them so as to become as polite and civilized a people as those of Constantinople, then, and not till then, can it ever be, that the constitution of our Turkey company may be a fit model and pattern for settling the trade to Africa.

It is allowed by all parties, that the several confusions which have happened in our trade to Africa have been chiefly occasioned by the different interests of the several traders thither; and as the laying open that trade was the sole cause thereof, it is absurd to think that the effect can be taken away while the cause remains. So truly, in my humble opinion, the laying open that trade, with or without a company, must be always much at one upon the matter.

The laying open the African trade owned to be the cause of all the confusions in it; so the having it open still, under a different name, will not mend the matter.

And since, by the separate traders proposing, at last, to come into a method for maintaining the forts and castles on the foot of an open regulated trade, it appears likewise that all parties do think forts and castles necessary for securing and preserving the British interest on that coast, it is certain, that were there no incongruity in the project of such a regulated trade, yet even that same, of maintaining the vast charge of forts, castles, and alliances, by such a precarious fund as that of voluntary contributions, would soon prove an insurmountable difficulty; for though in the beginning, and in time of peace, the novelty of such a constitution might possibly tempt several persons to trade upon that foot for a spurt, and that their several regulated

The vanity of pretending to maintain forts and castles by the contributions of precarious traders.

lated contributions might, perhaps, do something towards defraying the said charge for some short time, yet no man being bound, by such a constitution, to trade longer, or for more stock, than he thinks fit, it is not to be supposed, but that, whenever they should come to find their profit not answerable to their expectation, they would quickly draw their necks out of the collar, and give over the trade by degrees (as they have already done in the former case) till at last, for want of the needful contributions, the aforesaid alliances would be neglected, and the forts and castles must, of course, become ruinous and deserted, and then the old proverb made good, "That every man's business would be no man's business."

C H A P. VI.

Several farther arguments, proving that our trade to Africa cannot be preserved and carried on, effectually, by any other method than that of a considerable joint stock, with exclusive privileges.

THE impracticability, or at least improbability, of ever trading to Africa securely, creditably and advantageously, in the method of either an illimited open trade, like that to Portugal, or of a regulated open trade, like that to Turkey, being already demonstrated, as far as the nature of the case seems to require or admit of a demonstration, it consequently follows, that a
suitable

suitable joint stock, with exclusive and other encouraging privileges, and the maintaining a coercive power on the coast of Africa, are the only probable means by which the African trade can be effectually carried on, so as to be made a permanent, creditable and advantageous trade to Britain; yet, for illustration of that position, I shall adduce some farther arguments from Reason, experience, and the universal practice of all nations who trade thither, to prove the same.

1st. The Dutch (who, of all nations whatsoever, are generally allowed to be the people, now extant, who have given the most convincing proofs of their consummated knowledge and experience in trade) have laid it down for a maxim, that in all foreign trades, where the trade must be maintained by force and forts on the land, and where they cannot conveniently keep up an amity and correspondence by ambassadors only, there seems to be an absolute necessity of carrying on such trades by joint stocks; and certainly, by parity of reason, the same maxim must hold equally good with us, as with them. Unity in their councils, and an uniformity in their rules of management, has laid the foundation of that state, and reared it up to that mighty degree of strength and power which makes them now so considerable both at home and abroad, according to their own motto, "*Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt.*" And though they be the great asserters of liberty, and do exercise it without control or limitation, as to all other trades, yet, upon the foot of the aforesaid maxim, they have always found it necessary to carry on their trades to the East-Indies and the coast of Africa only, by companies with joint

The 1st argument is founded on a general maxim observed by the Dutch, &c.

stocks and exclusive privileges, and that, by reason of the great charge, danger and difficulties commonly attending them; yea, these companies are always protected and defended by the laws of their United Provinces, which are of the same force with them as acts of parliament are with us. But though we have likewise had companies with joint stocks, for trading to the East-Indies and the coast of Africa, yet those not having been established with the sanction of parliamentary constitutions, a door was always left open for frequently disturbing their measures, and interrupting the progress of their trades and acquisitions, chiefly by reason of a divided interest always kept up among ourselves; insomuch that it might have been properly enough said, that we had verified the very reverse of the Dutch motto, viz. "*Discordia res magnæ dilabuntur.*"

The 2d argument is drawn from the universal consent of nations, differing in other forms of government.

2dly. Whenever we see several great and wise nations, having various forms of government, and whose measures are influenced by different inclinations and interests, yet conspiring, as it were by universal consent, in the same means for acquiring the same ends of profit, power and honour, we may reasonably conclude, that they are much nearer the right way for accomplishing those ends, than any set of private men whatsoever holding contrary opinions, especially when swayed by personal profit or loss, or by any capricious humour, pique or prejudice against some other interested party. Thus we see that, how different soever the several and respective interests of the French, Dutch, Danes, Brandenburgishers, &c. are, with respect to one another, yet they all do center in this positive opinion, That joint stocks with

with exclusive privileges, and the having forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, for maintaining a constant coercive power there, and for preserving alliances with the natives, are, by much, the properest means for carrying on that trade with security, credit and advantage; and therefore, considering likewise how far the Royal African company of England and their predecessors have proceeded, and do still, after many years experience, insist upon the same topick, it looks like too much presumption and a self-conceited arrogance in some few private persons (who seem now to personate the separate traders here) to pretend to set up their own humourfome opinion, dogmatically, against the consummated experience and universal suffrage of the whole trading world beside, unless they bring better evidence for supporting their bare opinion, than any weak reason adduced by them as yet.

3dly. There is a maxim of policy, which holds good among companies for trade, as well as kingdoms and states, That wherever any power or force is to be exercised, the more contracted and united that power is, the more prevalent will be the effects thereof. Applicable to this is the dying old man's advice to his sons, represented in the well-known fable of the Bundle of Arrows; and the great reason for the late union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland (though, even before then, they were separately under the government of one sovereign Prince) was to corroborate their strength, by making them one undivided kingdom, the same in interest, inclination and power, both in offence and defence: "Vis unita fortior." So likewise

The 3d argument is deduced from a certain maxim of policy observed by kingdoms and states, and followed by the Dutch East-India company

it is very observable, that though the Dutch traded for some time to the East-Indies by several joint stocks, belonging separately to the respective provinces which raised the same, yet finding, upon trial, that the different interests of their several joint stocks did interfere one with the other, the States (contrary to the native humour and genius of a republick) did incorporate all these joint stocks into one common capital, to the end that, for the general interest and advantage of the whole, the same might be the more equally managed, by certain uniform rules of government, both abroad and at home.

The 4th argument is inferred from a parallel instance in the case of the English East - India trade.

4thly. A farther instance of the preferableness of carrying on any such trade by a joint stock, may be had nearer home, from a case exactly parallel to that of the Royal African company; for our trade to the East-Indies was established and carried on, for many years, much after the same manner, and struggling with such-like interruptions and difficulties, from time to time, as have been already narrated in relation to our trade to Africa, till, in the year 1698, the private traders to the East-Indies obtained an act of parliament for laying that trade open in the method of a regulated company, reserving only the old company's right of trading, in manner, for the term and to the effect mentioned in the said act; yet, upon trial, even those who procured that act found it necessary to unite themselves and their several stocks, in proportion to their respective subscriptions, so as to carry on the trade thereafter only with one common joint stock; and though, at least to all outward appearance, there seemed to be an irreconcilable contest and stated emulation between the

the new and the old East-India companies, yet both of them became so very sensible of the destructive consequences necessarily attending a divided interest in trading to those remote parts, that they are now, at last, happily conjoined into one company, having the same joint stock, interest and designs; and it is also very remarkable, that those forts and settlements in India, which seemed to have been formerly so much slighted and depreciated by the separate traders thither, do now make up a considerable article in the estimation of their own present joint stock.

5thly. As contraries appear best by stating them in opposition one to the other, so, in all dubious cases of the same or like nature, the happiest experiences are those which have been gained by the calamities of times past. Thus, while our trade to the East-Indies lay quite open, from the year 1653 to the year 1657, that method proved so very destructive to the several private traders thither, that the governing power at that time found it necessary to unite them all into one company, with one joint stock, &c. So likewise, while the trade to Africa was laid open, before the restoration of King Charles the second, the Dutch company took such advantage of our separate traders, that their losses were computed to about 300,000 *l.* as is already narrated at large, page 85. But, by the several particulars formerly likewise mentioned in page 88, it is manifest that, during the small number of years in which the present Royal African company had the countenance and protection of the government, so as not to have had their measures embarrassed by any separate interest at home, the British interest on the coast of Africa was main-

The 5th argument is by stating contraries in opposition one to the other.

tained and advanced much more securely, creditably and advantageously, for the common interest of this kingdom and the plantations thereunto belonging, than ever it was either before or since that time; and had the privileges of the company's charter been then established by act of parliament, so as to have prevented the domestick divisions which have since happened in that trade, by reason of our separate interests, it is more than probable that the British interest had, by this time, been in a more flourishing condition than that of any other European nation whatsoever, on the coast of Africa.

The 6th argument is drawn from the nature and necessity of having alliances with the natives.

6thly. There was never yet any substantial commerce in the world carried on, but by means of mutual alliances and confederations made with the natives, how barbarous soever; and it is manifest that alliances of this nature can be made only by Princes themselves, or powers derived from them to bodies politick and communities, who are stable, permanent and responsible, continually ready upon the place, by their agents, to expostulate with or give satisfaction to their allies, which can never be maintained with individuals or single persons, who being transient and mortal, no man knows where to find them when they happen to commit any injuries; and therefore, a society established with the sanction of a parliamentary constitution, and having a sufficient joint stock, with exclusive privileges, and a coercive power to maintain their alliances, as well as to defend their trade, must needs, of course, be in a more probable way for answering all the ends proposed by the alliances above-mentioned.

7thly,

7thly. Without some fixed society, invested with a considerable joint stock and suitable privileges, there can be no sure dependence upon having the British plantations supplied duly with sufficient numbers of negroes at moderate or certain rates; for, while the trade lies open, scores of private traders do trade for one year, who are never heard of thereafter, and these, minding only a present gain, do exact upon and squeeze the planters at a most extravagant rate, without any regard to consequences, as having no thoughts of going thither again; whereas a settled society, having the sole management of the trade, must, in all their measures, have a special regard to perpetuity. And thus it was during the short time that the Royal African company enjoyed the trade exclusively; they sold their negroes at very moderate rates, and trusted the planters, from time to time, with considerable sums of money*, till they could conveniently pay the same out of the produce of those negroes labour, which private persons are seldom able or willing to do, and although they would, yet one substantial creditor is always much more indulging and encouraging to a debtor, than an indefinite number of several petty creditors can be supposed to be, because each of these, having different views, as well as separate interests, do commonly strive who shall out-do the other in diligence for recovering payment, "quovis modo," till they ruin the common debtor, and render him incapable of doing justice to either; whereas, were he concerned only with one society of discreet persons, they would, for their own interest, have a generous and compassionate

The 7th argument is founded upon the true interest of the British plantations in America.

* Vide Page 88.

passionate regard to his circumstances, and, by a reasonable forbearance, enable him to pay themselves, and to continue a correspondence and dealing with them, and to improve his own plantation into the bargain; which indeed is, or at least ought to be, the chief end of the negro trade, because upon that wholly depends the great national advantage produced by the plantation trade to Britain.

The 8th argument is drawn from the advantages of settling the Affiento with the Spaniards and Portugueze.

8thly. While the trade to Africa lies open, we can never settle the Affiento, nor make any advantageous contracts with the Spaniards or Portugueze, to furnish them with negroes in their West-Indies; for as, on the one hand, they will have no dependence on the uncertain engagements of private persons, whose circumstances cannot be well known to them, so, on the other hand, private persons can never (without a mixture of folly and madness) undertake to furnish certain numbers of negroes, for a term of years, at determinate and fixed prices, when, at the same time, they cannot possibly know but that, by reason of the different interfering interests of many separate traders, the prices of negroes upon the coast of Africa may be so far advanced, as that the prime cost may far exceed the prices at which they contracted to deliver them in the West-Indies, which would unavoidably be a very great loss to the nation; whereas a society, vested with the sole power of trading to Africa, cannot fail of taking their measures in making such contracts, so as to gain considerably by them; and it is a certain truth, that whatever is gained by any of her Majesty's subjects, whether in a society or separately, from any foreign nation, must of course be a national advantage,

advantage, in adding to the strength and riches of this kingdom.

9thly. While the trade to Africa lies open, it can never be distinctly known how far (nationally speaking) we may be either gainers or losers by it, for we may have the appearance of a brisk and flourishing trade, by seeing a considerable number of ships going out and coming in, yea, and perhaps some few particular cunning persons gaining considerably by commissions, &c. while, at the same time, our national interest is sinking daily, in the manner formerly narrated, till it dwindle away to nothing at last, and be insensibly twisted out of our hands, by the cunning stratagems and undermining practices of our foreign competitors, before we can have sufficient time to apply a remedy for recovery thereof; whereas, by confining that trade to one joint stock, the great council of the nation may always be satisfied, from time to time, of the company's proceedings both at home and abroad, so that, by knowing where the distemper lies, they may, with the greater assurance, prescribe a cure, as occasion may require. Nor can it justly be supposed, but that the view of a perpetual and uninterrupted succession in the management of that trade must, as well as the hopes of personal profit, naturally inspire the managers with a much nobler emulation, in exerting their utmost endeavours for advancing our national interest, beyond that of any foreign competitor, on the coast of Africa, than can be reasonably expected from the irregular, disconcerted and interfering measures of an uncertain number of raw and unexperienced novices, trading separately by divided interests,
liable

The 9th argument is drawn from the benefit of records, and knowing, at any time, the exact balance of our national profit or loss by any trade.

liable to no censure but their own, and having no other imaginable views but only a little selfish present gain, though the national interest should utterly perish thereby.

The 10th argument is grounded upon the safety that is in the multitude of counsellors, pointing at one common end.

10thly. The wisest of men tells us, that "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety," and beyond all peradventure it is so; for our understandings are so weak, our knowledge so circumscribed, and our lives so short, that, without conjoining the experience of some ages together, we are, of ourselves, able to make but a very indifferent proficiency, even in the easiest and most intelligible science that can be thought of. However, indeed some few there are, of all ages and countries, who must be allowed to have a much more transcendent genius for several purposes, than the generality of the rest of mankind; and therefore it is the great and singular advantage of all select and compacted societies, having the same undivided interests, and which are established upon solid foundations, that the wisdom, knowledge, capacity, experience and application of these few, do commonly supply the defects of many other persons, who are not endowed with an equal share of the like qualifications.

This is illustrated farther, in a comparison between the body polittick and body natural.

Thus a joint-stock company, established upon a fixed and suitable constitution, cannot fail of trading with much more security, and a far greater probability of producing many national advantages, than private persons trading separately can do; for the former have not only the discoveries, observations and experience of their predecessors

standing

standing always upon record before them, by a continued series of journals, &c. but (as in the body natural) so even the weakest member of such a society may, in some respect or other, be made useful to the common interest of the whole body politick, yea, and partake too, in some measure, of the knowledge, understanding and judgment of those other members whom God has blessed with a more than ordinary portion thereof.

And as these societies do commonly find out and make choice of such deserving persons as are thought most capable of serving their interest, in the several qualities of generals, chiefs, agents, factors, correspondents, masters and navigators of ships, super-cargoes, surgeons, secretaries, clerks, accomptants, book-keepers, cashiers, store and warehouse-keepers, &c. so they can best afford the giving them such suitable salaries and other encouragements, as (if but tolerably well principled) might put them above the temptation of being corrupted; and it is most certain that, if the African trade were once fully settled and fixed on the basis of such a suitable constitution as would naturally oblige the natives to come to our terms and conditions of barter, instead of imposing theirs upon us, as now they do, the profits thereof could very well bear that charge. So that such a society might then stand in place of an academy, for training an indefinite number of people in the regular knowledge of all matters relating to the several branches of the African trade, and the nation would of course reap the honour and advantage thereof.

Other consequential advantages attending such regular and fix'd constitutions.

The

The reverse of all these must be the effect of a divided interest, for the reasons sub-joined.

The reverse of all which may be easily gathered from that infallible position in the gospel, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." The meaning whereof relates to kingdoms, cities and corporations, as well as to private families, as appears expressly by the context.

Now let us suppose an indefinite number of persons trading separately from hence to Africa; their having quite separate stocks must consequently make them have divided interests; and as we cannot reasonably suppose them to be all equally endowed with the same necessary qualifications, so they must unavoidably have different views and rules of management, and therefore (for want of both the cor-relative and subservient means of assistance afore-mentioned) the generality of these separate adventurers, trusting most commonly both the projection and absolute management of the voyage to their respective ship-masters, who indeed are as ignorant of the trade as those who employ them, must of course come off with loss, when perhaps some few cunning and designing persons among them may get some private advantage to themselves, at the expence of irrecoverably losing the whole trade to the nation at last; yea, and whenever they die, their experience dies with them.

The 11th argument is drawn from the necessity of maintaining a balance of power on the coast of Africa.

11thly. In all remote places of trade, the countries of petty Princes, with whom her Majesty cannot conveniently have state alliances and regular correspondencies, by ambassadors or other publick ministers, there is a necessity of maintaining a power

power equal at least with that of other European nations ; without which it is observed, that such petty Princes, by the cunning designs of stronger powers, have often been drawn into contracts, whereby, for small considerations, they agree to exclude all other nations from the trade of their respective countries. Examples of this nature are frequent *, not only from the impositions of the Dutch East-India company upon the natives of Japan, Amboyna, Pollaroon, Polloyay, Dam, Macassar, Zelon, Bantam, &c. but likewise from the practices of the Dutch West-India company, who, taking example by the former, have played the same game over and over again on the coast of Africa ; witness particularly their having contracted with the natives of Fantyn, to pay them a good round sum of ready money in hand, besides a certain yearly pension, in consideration of their aid in expelling the English from Cormonteen-Fort, and of their other auxiliary assistances ever since ; † under the pretext of which methods they set up a pretended legal title for justifying their proceedings in endeavouring to undermine and exclude the British, and all other European nations, from trading upon that coast, so that, although it had been practicable to have carried on the

* Vide the 96th page of Sir Josiah Child's book, formerly cited. The methods of the Dutch proceedings in all such encroachments upon the English, in all times, having been to make one bold step, and then spend some years in allaying the noise of that, or paying for it not the hundredth part of what the concernment of it is worth to this kingdom ; and when the noise of that is well allayed or bought off in Europe, then to make a new encroachment. So they began at Japan and Amboyna, and since that deceived us of Pollaroon and Polloyay, then of Dam and Macassar, and lastly of Bantam, moving still from the east westerly, &c.

† Vide the English translation of Mr. Bosman's letters, pag. 59, & alibi.

the trade to Africa in an open regulated way, if other nations had followed the same method (which is never to be granted) yet, in regard that all other European nations do trade thither by joint stocks, it would seem as unequal a match to enter and engage raw and unexperienced private traders against such compacted and united constitutions of experienced counsellors, as to fight a disordered undisciplined multitude against a well-governed army of veteran troops, supported with an inexhaustible treasure.

The 12th argument is from the consideration of the Dutch company's settling now on foot a design of engrossing the staple of sugars, as they have that of spices.

12thly. The Dutch West-India company, having no settlements or plantations in the West-Indies, but only that of Curacoa, a mere rock, and Surinam, a most unwholesome country, for the most part under water, and therefore scarcely improveable so as to quit cost, notwithstanding their indefatigable and very chargeable endeavours for bringing it to bear, have, it seems, bent their thoughts now upon settling sugar-plantations on the Gold-Coast of Africa, a place as improveable as the best of our West-India plantations. They have already sent for * 200 Whidah slaves, and expect, by their next shipping from Holland, all proper materials for making sugar in Guinea, wherein, if successful (as in all probability they may be, if not counteracted in that design) it is much to be feared (considering the multitudes of negro-slaves on that coast, whose labour is very cheap, and the shortness of the voyage from Holland to the coast of Guinea, in respect of that to the East-Indies, from whence they already import great

* Vide Sir Dalby Thomas's letter, dated at Cape-Coast-Castle the 29th of July, 1708.

great quantities of sugar) that in some few years time, when our American colonies will be obliged to make sugar at so much greater charge than the Dutch in Africa, they may be able to undersell us by very much, and consequently have the staple of sugars over all Europe, as they have already that of all spices; which consideration alone (barring the many other weighty ones formerly mentioned) is of itself sufficient to open our eyes, and convince us of the absolute necessity of speedily settling and fixing our trade to Africa in a joint-stock company, with exclusive and other suitable privileges, as the only way of splitting and defeating the designs of our competitors in that trade, with a wedge of their own timber; that is, by taking such proper measures with the natives as are not practicable to be done in the method of an open trade, otherways than by making open war upon our neighbours, which is a remedy, I hope, we shall not run ourselves upon.

Several other arguments might also be offered, upon the same or such-like topicks, for carrying on the trade to Africa by a joint-stock, with exclusive privileges; but more arguments being thought needless at present, I shall resume the first question stated in the introduction, Whether, as we are now circumstanced, with relation to our many foreign competitors on the coast of Africa, it may be thought more adviseable, for the nation's interest and advantage, to carry on that trade by a collective society of capable and intelligent men, having one and the same joint-stock, interest, designs and uniform rules of government and management, with exclusive privileges, &c. or by all such persons, indistinctly, as have a mind to trade thither, when and how they please,

with separate stocks, divided interests, and different designs and rules of management?

In answer to which, it is now presumed, that, upon serious and mature consideration of all the premises, any intelligent and impartial reader will be inclinable to conclude,

1st. That the preservation and improvement of the trade to Africa is a matter of very high importance to this kingdom and the plantations thereunto belonging.

2dly. That forts and settlements on the coast, and alliances with the natives, are absolutely necessary for the defence, preservation and improvement of that trade.

3dly. That by any other method, than that of a joint-stock, with exclusive privileges, the said forts, settlements and alliances, can never be effectually maintained, and the said trade carried on, so as to be made a permanent, creditable and advantageous trade to Britain.

C H A P. VII.

Some popular objections against settling and carrying on the trade to Africa by an exclusive joint-stock, fairly stated and answered.

ACcording to my weak conception of things, the three propositions concluding the former chapter, are, for the many reasons already given, as evident and demonstrable truths as any proposition whatsoever, of which we can have only a moral certainty; yet some persons of more refined heads (perhaps to shew their parts, or rather humour) will still nevertheless be raising dust, and starting objections against the same, either in whole or in part, though more especially against the third proposition, until the wisdom of the parliament think fit to put an end to this paper counter-scuffle, by settling the trade to Africa on such a fixed and solid foundation as may leave no door open for the farther cavilling of every pretender.

The truth is, I do not foresee that any material objection can be offered against all, or either of these propositions, to which a clear solution may not be had out of some or other of the foregoing sheets; but lest the advocates for an open trade to Africa may have any seeming pretence left for triumphing before victory, I shall fairly state and answer such of their objections as occur to my memory at present, with promise to give full and particular answers to such others as they shall think fit to exhibit, after the perusal of this treatise,

OBJECTION I. A joint-stock company, with exclusive privileges, is a monopoly inconsistent with the natural right of the subject, and the common liberty of mankind.

ANSWER. This argument proves either too much, or nothing at all; for the principle upon which it is raised strikes at the very root and foundation of all sorts of government, whether ecclesiastick or civil. But the general good of mankind being the great end of all government, the humours, liberties, yea, and private interests too, of particular persons, must always yield and give way to the common safety and general interest of the whole system of rationals. Thus it is that indefinite numbers, even of free-born men, are, contrary to their own natural inclinations, frequently pressed for the publick service in fleets and armies. We see that, in the case of a siege, fire, or the like, several citizens houses are pulled down, or blown up, to save the whole city; and the hands of idiots, lunaticks and furious persons tied up, by special laws, from having the power of hurting themselves or others. Yea farther, many people have got the word monopoly in their mouths, who know or consider very little of either its signification or import. I question very much whether we, of this island in particular, might not have been all this while staked down to agriculture only, without having enjoyed the benefit of those many advantages produced by our late improvements in navigation, trade, and manufactures, were it not for those encouragements which have, from time to time, been given, by monopolies, to the introducers and promoters of all mechanick arts and other useful inventions among us. And had it not been for the same reason, I know not why all the country gentlemen, farmers,

farmers, yeomen, and others, might not as justly raise an out-cry against the exclusive privileges contained in the several charters of all the cities, boroughs and corporations in Britain. But indeed our capacities are not so comprehensive, nor our abilities so very extraordinary, but that one good trade and calling (if duly looked after) may sufficiently serve and employ the time of one man; and doubtless, the more we confine ourselves to any one particular employment, the more expert we must be in the knowledge and practice thereof, which is another great reason why the charge and management of all difficult undertakings should be confined to certain sets of men, set apart for making the prosecution thereof the chief end of their studies.

OBJECT. II. The limits of the Royal African Company's charter comprehends no less than the trade of 6000 miles along the coast of Africa, which is too great an extent to be trusted to the management of any one society whatsoever.

ANSW. The gross of all the trade of the Royal African Company, the private traders, and all other Europeans whatsoever, on the coast of Africa, is between the river Senegal, near Cape-Verde, and Cape-Lopez near the Line, which comprehends no more than 15 deg. N. Lat. but by reason of the coasts winding and falling in to the Eastward, the measure by land must be something more than in Lat. And if, now and then, some few ships happen to trade farther to the Northward, or to a place or two on the coast of Angola, Southward, yet even the trade of these is within the limits of Cape-Blanco, in 20 deg. N. Lat. and of the Southern part of Angola, to about 10 deg. S. Lat. which (barring the winding of the coast) will not be the third part of the limits mentioned

in the objection; but let the extent of the Royal African Company's charter be what it will, I suppose from Salle, in 15 deg. N. Lat. to the Cape of Good Hope, in 35 deg. S. Lat. (which I am told it is) I see no reason why a society, established for the preservation and improvement of that trade, for the general advantage of Britain and the plantations thereunto belonging, should be cramp't in either their privileges, or the extent of their charter, any more than the several other trading companies erected by foreign kingdoms and states for the same or the like ends, especially when we look back, and consider that, during all the several periods of time in which an unrestrained liberty was either assumed by, or allowed to private persons, to encroach upon the charter of the present Royal African Company, or any of their predecessors, since ever we had any footing in Africa, the trade thither always declined and came to little or nothing, until revived and restored again by successive new grants, with exclusive privileges, upon every such occasion.

OBJECT. III. A trade confined to the management of a joint-stock company is commonly carried on from the port of the metropolis only, and by that means all the other out-ports of the kingdom are virtually excluded from having any share in the benefit and advantage of that trade.

ANSW. This may seem to be a plausible objection with some inconsiderate people, but has indeed nothing in it at all, if we consider, that during all the time in which the trade to Africa has been open by act of parliament, these 11 years past, no ship was sent thither from any port in England, except that of London, and some very few from Bristol, and two or three from Liverpool, for an experiment, in the beginning; from
which

which last port no ship has been sent thither these six or seven years past, for the reasons given page 105. So that truly, whether the trade to Africa be carried on exclusively, or in an open method, it is, and always will be, much at one with respect to all the out-ports of the kingdom, for a suitable cargo, proper for the coast of Africa, cannot be conveniently had at any other port than that of London only; nor can it be denied but that, for lading even these few ships which have been sent from Bristol, some parts of their respective cargoes were sent by land-carriages from London; yea, formerly no ships were sent from the port of London itself, to the coast of Africa, but what had the chief part of their cargoes from Holland, until the present Royal African Company introduced and encouraged the first making of several of our manufactures here, which are proper for the trade of that coast.

OBJECT. IV. If the trade to Africa be confined, so as to be carried on by a joint-stock only, those who have lately united with us (meaning Scotland) will be thereby excluded from having any share in that trade; and the hopes of making advantages by trade being the chief motives which induced them to agree to the Union, it were unreasonable to frustrate their expectations, so far as to shut them out, for good and all, from the right of trading to so extensive a part of the world as the coast of Africa.

ANSW. This objection is much of the same nature with the immediate preceding one, and therefore the same answer given to the former may, in a great measure, serve this. However, for the farther satisfaction of those who have lately united with us, this objection shall be more particularly considered in its full force.

In the year 1695, Scotland established a company, by an act of the parliament of that kingdom, for trading to Africa and both the Indies; and as the design was generally allowed to be very noble in itself, so was the constitution most suitable to the design. But having neither strength enough, nor a sufficient stock of their own, for prosecuting so great and extensive an undertaking, and being frustrated of the assistance which they expected from hence, and from some parts beyond sea, and Scotland itself not producing cargoes of portable goods proper for either the trade to Africa or that to the East-Indies, they seemed, in some manner, to lay aside, or at least suspend, any design of trading to these two parts of the world for some time, and bent their thoughts chiefly on settling a colony in America, to compass which they made indeed a considerable effort; but the encouraging that project not being then thought consistent with the interest of England, in a separate state, and the constitution of that company being thought incompatible with the laws of England, in an united state, it was agreed that, by the late union of both kingdoms, that company should be dissolved; and as to all foreign trade, and the laws concerning export and import, Scotland is now under the same predicament with all the other parts of the united kingdom of Great-Britain.

I have been at some pains to inform myself concerning the proceedings of that company of Scotland, and do not find that ever they sent any ship to the coast of Africa, except one, and the outward cargo of that one itself was brought from Holland to Leith, which now is not practicable by law; and though, by the Union, all the inhabitants of Scotland are entitled to the same freedom

freedom of trading to Africa which the inhabitants of all the other ports of the united kingdom have, yet there has not been so much as any one single ship sent from Scotland to Africa since the commencement of the Union ; which shews evidently, that either they have no great inclination, or that, of themselves, they are under some insuperable incapacity for prosecuting so hazardous and difficult a trade : so that, indeed, any well-grounded hopes which the gentlemen of that country can be supposed to have, of sharing in the particular advantages to be had by the African trade, must be only from a joint-stock company ; for, as they are equally free with the other subjects of Great-Britain to become adventurers in the joint-stock proposed, and consequently to have a proportional share of the profits, so a company, having the sole management and direction of the trade, may order matters so as to lade a ship or ships for Africa, from any convenient port or ports of the united kingdom, where a lading may be had, either of provisions or any other commodity whatsoever, proper for the coast of Africa, without being necessarily obliged to send a sortable cargo from thence, because, to answer that again, they may send little or nothing of these particular commodities in their other ships ; whereas, in the method of an open trade, particular private traders, having different interests, cannot possibly have so extensive or comprehensive a view of the trade at once, as a society acting by certain uniform rules of management can have ; and therefore every private trader minding only his own private concern and present gain, the trade must of course, as it is now, be confined to that port where all and every one of them can have sortable cargoes, unless an exclusive joint-stock company
be

be established, and, upon trial, find it practicable to contrive matters otherways.

I can very justly aver, that I wish as well to the interest of those who are lately united with us as any of the separate traders can do, though, under the colour of a piece of pretended justice to that part of the united kingdom, they would, for their own selfish ends, keep us still groping in the dark, while they themselves would be fishing in troubled waters. I own I have too honourable an opinion of the worthy and ingenious gentlemen of that country, ever to suppose, and much less to believe, that, like the dog in the fable, they will neither do, nor let do; that is, that, for the sake of retaining a mere imaginary fruitless right of trading to a part of the world for which they have not the proper subject or medium of trade, they would obstruct the generous endeavours of others in pursuing a national design, which (if successful) must naturally diffuse its advantages, in some respect or other, throughout the whole united kingdom, by adding to the strength, riches, power and credit thereof.

OBJECT. V. By confining the African trade to a joint-stock company, all the profits and advantages thereof can redound only to a small number of adventurers immediately concerned in that stock; whereas, by having the trade open in the method of a regulated company, like that to Turkey, vast numbers of all her Majesty's subjects may have a share of the profits.

ANSW. This objection is already more than sufficiently obviated by the several arguments contained in the preceding chapter, concerning the nature of a joint-stock; and indeed the very reverse of what is suggested in this objection, will, upon examination, be found to be true; for great

numbers

numbers of persons of all ranks, men, women and children, may very well be concerned in an exclusive joint-stock, for the reasons particularly mentioned in the 10th argument of the aforesaid preceding chapter, and, *de facto*, it always happens so. But when an intricate trade, attended with many difficulties, like that to Africa, is carried on in any open method whatsoever, without a joint-stock, the trade, and all the profits which can be made by it, must unavoidably, in some short process of time, fall of course into the hands of some few particular persons, whose cunning will out-do that of their neighbours; yea, and if the constitution of the Turkey company were made the model by which the African trade should be regulated, the far greater part of all the separate traders themselves, who now urge that method, would be thereby excluded as illegitimate persons, that is, as not being qualified in the terms of that constitution.

OBJECT. VI. A joint-stock company is good for nothing, but to carry on a stock-jobbing trade, and the present Royal African Company have cheated the nation by stock-jobbing, and dividing their stock among the several adventurers, by which means their stock is become worth little or nothing.

ANSW. At first view, this seems to be a very heavy charge, though indeed it imports but little. There was never yet any great convenience or advantage in the management of any worldly concern, which has not been attended with some certain inconvenience or other.

“*Commoditas omnis sua fert incommoda secum.*”

But

But to argue so as to condemn the use of any thing from the abuse thereof, is such a method of reasoning as can never pass with men of sound and unbiaſſed judgments ; for one might, with as much reason, conclude, that if, in ſome former ages, there has happened to be, here and there, a biſhop who did not live up to the dignity of that character, but was guilty of ſome groſs immoralities, therefore the office of a biſhop was bad in itſelf. I am ſure this would be reckoned a very ridiculous way of arguing, and yet the firſt part of the objection is the very ſame upon the matter.

It is no concern of mine to plead in defence of ſtock-jobbing ; however, ſuppoſing (for example) that any of the adventurers in the joint-ſtock of the Royal African Company thinks fit to ſell his ſhares, as being his own property, and perhaps the next day again buys more ſhares of that or any other ſtock, from other hands (which is called ſtock-jobbing) what can the general ſtock of the company be either the better or worſe for any imaginary value that ſuch particular perſons may ſeem to put upon it ? But whatever may be in that, is this a practice peculiar to the Royal African Company only ? No ; let any man read but the common news-papers, and he will ſee the ſame practice in relation to all other ſtocks at home and abroad ; and, if it be an abuſe, have we not alſo tally-jobbers, land-jobbers, houſe-jobbers, horſe-jobbers, and many other jobbers too, who ſtand more in need of a reformation.

Then, as to the ſecond part of the objection, although it had been true, as it is not, it would be only argumentum ad hominem, and nothing at all as to the nature of the thing itſelf ; yea, the managers of the Royal African Company (who doubt-
leſs

less are the persons pointed at in the objection) have already openly declared, that, by particulars, and proper vouchers ready to be produced to the parliament, they can make it unquestionably appear, that, during the last and present war, the company's casual losses, by frequent captures and otherways, have been upwards of 400,000 *l.* and that the small dividends made among the adventurers, were, in effect, but in the nature of premiums and encouragements for contributing much larger sums, from time to time, for upholding and carrying on the trade, and preserving their forts and settlements, until a convenient opportunity should offer for laying their grievances before the parliament. And if the company's stock be not now in so good a condition as were to be wished, the many concurring reasons already given, in the foregoing sheets, do sufficiently evince that the managers are not justly chargeable with the invidious imputation of having mis-employed either their time or talent, but that the lowness of their stock is altogether owing to other supervenient causes.

C H A P.

C H A P. VIII.

Some reasons humbly offered for committing the management of the African trade to the Royal African Company.

WHAT now remains to be considered is, in case the wisdom of the parliament shall think fit to settle the trade to Africa (as it is hoped they will) upon the foot of a joint-stock, with exclusive privileges, who should be the raisers of that joint-stock, and be entrusted with the management of the trade.

No doubt, her Majesty and both the houses of parliament are the only judges who can best determine that matter; however, the most probable and equitable view thereof, which occurs at present, is, that the Royal African Company have already, by their petition to the honourable House of Commons, signified their willingness to raise a stock sufficient for the preservation and improvement of that trade, in all the branches thereof, provided they be established, by act of parliament, on the foot of some fixt constitution, suitable to the nature and circumstances of that trade; and they have also, by their publick advertisement in the Gazette, signified their willingness to admit all such persons as have a mind to become joint adventurers with them, by raising any part of the needful stock, upon equitable terms.

Now, in case there should happen to be any competition in point of preference, as to the persons to be entrusted with the management of that trade, upon the foot of an exclusive constitution,

I must own that, in my humble opinion, the Royal African Company has an equitable claim of preference in that matter, antecedent to that of any other pretender whatsoever. For,

I. When the African trade was in a manner wholly lost to the nation, in the time of the last Dutch war, it is well known what pains were taken by the King and government, at that time, to persuade people to subscribe to a joint-stock, for the recovery, preservation and improvement of that trade; and that, upon the publick faith of an exclusive charter, granted then to the present Royal African Company (which was, at that time, conceived to be an indubitable security) they were induced not only to raise the joint-stock then proposed, but of course engaged likewise to contribute and launch out several vast additional sums, from time to time, ever since, for the purchasing, building, repairing and maintaining of forts, factories and settlements on the coast of Africa, and for the preservation and improvement of that trade; which, beyond all peradventure, neither they, nor any other set of men in the kingdom would have done, if they had then suspected, in the least, that others should have the benefit of building upon the foundation which they laid.

II. Though charters under the Great Seal are not now looked upon as an unquestionable right, having all the solemnities requisite by law, unless they be confirmed by act of parliament, yet certainly, when charters are granted for such onerous causes and considerations as those for which the Royal African Company's charter was granted, and especially considering how far the granting thereof

thereof has been the means of involving the company in many difficulties, upon a national account, such charters may, at least, be reckoned an argument to move the Parliament to have an equitable regard to the company's circumstances, and to give them an opportunity of recovering their losses, by preferring them to any other intruding pretender in the management of the trade to Africa, the preservation of which to the nation has already cost the company so dear.

III. By continuing the management of the trade to Africa in the hands of the Royal African Company, and such others as shall think fit to join with them in the intended new stock, upon the foot of a fixed parliamentary constitution, the trade may be carried on to far greater advantages, in all respects whatsoever, than can reasonably be expected from the hands of any other set of men in the kingdom, who were to begin upon a quite new foot; for the forts, factories and settlements which the company have already in their possession, the standing alliances which they have in force with the natives, the observation, knowledge and experience which they have of the nature and circumstances of the trade, and of the most effectual methods of practising upon the natives, for counter-acting and defeating the designs of all foreign competitors in the trade of that coast, and their being, all along to this hour, in the course of a regular trade (though under the pressure of many difficulties, occasioned by super-venient and indirect causes) are advantages which, if yet to be procured and obtained, would doubtless be a very chargeable and difficult task to a much more capable set of men than those who, at
3 this

this time, for their own ends, seem to slight those advantages so much as they do.

IV. By the many advantages which the African trade did produce to the nation, during the short time that the Royal African Company enjoyed the privilege of their charter exclusively, before the Revolution *, it is evident that they managed that trade with abundance of dexterity and application, with respect to a national interest; and therefore it may justly be supposed, that if they were once established by a parliamentary constitution, and were again encouraged and protected by the government, they would still extend their acquisitions and improvements in that trade, to the general interest and satisfaction of the nation; yea, the very journals and records of the company may be of greater use to them, in their deliberations about the taking suitable measures, upon several occasions which may happen in the prosecution of their designs, than some people can readily imagine.

And if it should be pretended that the separate traders have acquired abundance of knowledge and experience in that trade, since the same has been laid open, I have some ground to believe that the greatest part of this their boasted knowledge and experience in the African trade (such as it is) is derived chiefly from some deserters, who have been debauched and seduced out of the company's service; and how far the veracity, probity or integrity of such persons ought to be relied on, I leave the reader to judge.

* Vide Page 88.

IV. By the many advantages which the African
trade did produce to the nation, during the first
time that the Royal African Company enjoyed the
privilege of their charter exclusively, before the
Reflection: it is evident that they managed the
trade with abundance of dexterity and application,
with respect to a national interest, and therefore
it may justly be supposed, that if they were once
established by a permanent constitution, and
were to continue, they would still extend their ac-
tions and improve them in that trade, to the
benefit of the nation.

Advertisement to the READER.

THOUGH the points of fact charged in
these Reflections, either on the agents of
the Dutch company, or the English separate
traders, on the coast of Africa, do generally carry
their proofs along with them, yet, if it be found
that the verity of such of them as are material will
be questioned (which it is thought they will not)
then the particular vouchers of these, together
with some further considerations thereupon, shall
be printed apart, in an Appendix to these Re-
flections.

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

CONSTITUTION

AND

MANAGEMENT

OF THE

Trade to Africa,

THROUGH

The whole Course and Progress thereof, from the Beginning of the last Century, to this Time.

WHEREIN

The Nature and uncommon Circumstances of that TRADE are particularly considered, and all the Arguments urged alternately by the two contending Parties here, touching the different Methods now proposed by them, for carrying on the same to a national Advantage, impartially stated and considered.

BY ALL WHICH

A clear View is given of such a Constitution, as (if established by Act of Parliament) would, in all Probability, render the AFRICAN Trade a permanent, creditable and advantageous Trade to BRITAIN.

PART II.

Senec. Herc. furens.

Quod quisque facit patitur, auctorem scelus repetit, suoque premitur exemplo, nocens.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

CONSTITUTION

AND

MANAGEMENT

OF THE

Trade to Africa

BY A. THROUG

The whole Course and Progress thereof, from
the Beginning of the last Century, to this

W. H. R. E. I. N.

The Nature and Importance of the
Trade, and particularly the
Advantages and Disadvantages of the
Trade, as it respects the
Commerce of the Country, and the
Welfare of the People, are
fully and distinctly
explained, and the
Reasons of the
Trade, and the
Advantages and
Disadvantages of the
Trade, are
fully and distinctly
explained.

BY A. L. W. H. I. C. H.

A clear View is given of such a Constitution, as (if
established by Act of Parliament) would, in all Pro-
bability, render the African Trade a permanent,
profitable and advantageous Trade to Britain.

P. A. R. T. II.

Secus Hec. furens.

Quod quique furens, auctorem furem repperit, furem
premitur exemplo, nocens.

P R E F A C E.

WHOEVER adventures to write against any party, especially such a clamorous one as I have entered the lists with, had need be previously well assured, that he has a great deal of reason and justice on his side. For my part, I solemnly profess, that (according to the best of my judgment) I am fully persuaded that I have a very tenable and justifiable argument on the side which I have chosen, if it do not happen to miscarry in my hands, for not having a better advocate to manage it; however, I shall be well satisfied if the following sheets meet with no worse reception, in the opinion of judicious readers, than my first essay upon this subject has already met with; which indeed gave me the greater assurance to make this second attempt, for their farther satisfaction.

I designed indeed to have subjoined particular reflections to each of the extracts which compose the three first chapters, according to their respective numbers upon the margin; but the truth is, the matter here treated of being likely to fall under the consideration of the honourable House of Commons on Friday next, and this being chiefly designed for their previous information, it is with some difficulty that these extracts themselves could be tolerably methodized, transcribed and printed (even in such manner as they are) within the compass of eight days time, especially when the season is so very unfavourable for print-

ing; so that, if the work be not so compleat as I could have wish'd to have had it, it is not for want of matter, but of time.

I must own likewise, that the several points now controverted, in relation to the trade to Africa, are so very fully and particularly touched (though in an interspersed manner) in the aforesaid extracts, if jointly considered, that there seems to be but little room left for a commentator, except only for the sake of illustration, and to render the subject-matter more agreeable to the reader.

The contents of the fourth chapter are founded partly upon letters of advice from the coast of Africa, and partly upon the living testimonies of several persons come from thence, who are now here in this city, ready to justify the same.

Left any person who reads the following sheets should happen to be so far a sceptick as to question the authentickness of the several extracts therein contained, I hereby assure him, that the originals thereof, with many more of the same kind, may be seen at the Royal African Company's house, and that, for my own satisfaction, I have now lying by me duplicates of these, attested, some by the company's secretary, and some by two of his clerks.

I designed (for the reader's more distinct view) to have made marginal abbreviations to this second part likewise, but time would not permit.

R E =

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

Constitution and Management

OF THE

AFRICAN TRADE, &c.

PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE are some people in the world, who, from a mistaken notion of honour, think themselves obliged to justify and maintain whatever they happen once to assert dogmatically, in any publick manner, though never so ill-grounded, as if, forsooth, we were of ourselves so infallible in our conceptions and judgments of things, that we could not be imposed upon, either by mis-information or otherways; and the worst of it is, that people of that tenacious temper are commonly so full of resentment against the authors of any concluding and pointed argument,

ment, touching their own beloved positions, that a man who writes his mind freely and sincerely, in relation to any publick and national affairs, very often runs the hazard of offending persons, against whom he may be so far from having any personal prejudice, that possibly, on the contrary, he may honour and regard them very much, in all other respects whatsoever.

Without any regard to the particular dispute between the Royal African Company and the separate traders, concerning their several and respective private interests, I first of all reasoned myself into an opinion, that the trade to Africa could not be carried on securely, creditably, and advantageously, for the common interest of Britain, and the plantations thereunto belonging, by any other method than that of an exclusive joint-stock company; and in pursuing that argument, and searching for proper materials to maintain and support it, I could not forbear making those natural observations on the usage which the Royal African Company met with, both at home and abroad, in the progress of their trade, these 20 years past, which of course (I own) wrought upon my inclinations so far, as to become, in some measure, a partizan for them.

However, I have, in the First Part of these Reflections, studiously avoided mentioning the particular names and designations of such private traders, or others, as have been the immediate instruments of injuring the company's interest, either abroad or at home, hoping to have, by reasonable arguments, reclaimed them from persevering in either the commission or justification of such practices as are there pointed at.

But understanding that the separate traders have, since the publishing of that treatise, exerted their
I utmost

utmost endeavours to discredit (as much as they can) the verity of the several matters of fact therein narrated, with relation to either the agents of the Dutch West-India Company, the separate traders, or the natives of the coast of Africa respectively, these gentlemen must blame themselves, if, contrary to my inclination, they extort from me now a particular condescendance on the names and designations of some of their own number, who have committed the several gross frauds and abuses complained of as aforesaid, together with the aggravating circumstances thereof, with respect to time and place: and in so doing, I have the joint authority of many eminent divines on my side, “That too much lenity or indulgence to the committers of iniquity, is oftentimes cruelty to the innocent and oppressed.”

I could easily have swelled the following sheets to a great bulk, if I would look back so far as to recite all the instances which, I find, the company could give of abuses committed against them, by interlopers and the agents of foreign competitors in the progress of their trade, before the same was, in the year 1697, laid open by act of parliament; so I have therefore confined myself, upon this occasion, to such as have been committed against them since that time only. Nor, upon due consideration, can it well be supposed, that even the tenth part of these abuses, which have, at any time, been committed by private traders, in so extended and remote a part of the world as the coast of Africa is, could have come to the company's knowledge, and much less to mine: so that the following instances may justly be reckoned as only some of many more of the same kind, which, upon further enquiry, may happen to be discovered in progress of time.

CHAP.

C H A P. I.

Some extracts of such written testimonies as have been transmitted to the Royal African Company, concerning several abuses committed by the separate traders at or near the River Gambia, on the north coast of Africa.

York-Island, in the River Sherbrow,
January the 17th, 1697-8.

I. “ **M**emorandum, that on the 9th day of
“ this instant, the ship New-London,
“ Mr. Robert Ford commander, and the ship
“ Empress, Mr. Henry Pittman commander,
“ came both into the said river.

“ The ship Empress came within a league of
“ our factory, and there anchored. Captain Ford,
“ with his ship the New-London, came only to
“ Bob-Island, and not farther up; however, he
“ went in his boat up to Matthew Skinner’s, the
“ chief wood-factor here, and staid three days:
“ at his return he stopt here, asked how we all
“ did, and so went on board the ship Empress,
“ and then on board his own ship the New-Lon-
“ don, where, upon his arrival, he and his com-
“ pany combined together, and seized and secured
“ to the number of 16 men, natives of the coun-
“ try, and put them in irons, with an intent to
“ carry them into the West-Indies; moreover,
“ they killed two other men, which so incensed
“ the whole country, that several hundreds of
“ people flocked and bodied on this factory, with
“ an intent to cut us all off; so that we, being in
“ jeopardy of our lives, were forced to take to
“ the

“ the great house, and every man to stand to his
“ arms in his own defence. Some then on board
“ negotiating for us, were taken, and put us also
“ to the log for a time : and all this occasioned
“ by the aforesaid Captain Ford, who himself not
“ only seized our Blacks, but the Blacks, for his
“ default, seized and secured our white men.
“ In witness whereof we have hereunto set our
“ hands,

Henry Pittman.

Richard Lilly.

Urian Pulford.

“ We, who have hereunto subscribed, attest
“ this to be a true copy of an original now before
“ us,

Maurice Matthews, Clerk.

Thomas Williams.

Robert Beere.

John Bridgman.

Humphrey Lowe.

Bence-Island, in the River Sierra-Leon,
25th March, 1698.

II. “ **T**HESE are to certify the Royal African
“ Company of England, or whom it
“ may concern, that I Robert Ford, Master of
“ the ship London, with others belonging to the
“ said ship, affirm, that one Charles Eaton, in the
“ ship called the Postilion, did go up the River
“ Sherbrow with the said ship, and took from one
“ of the Royal Company’s factories there a great
“ quantity of cam-wood, without weighing it,
“ and loaded aboard the said Postilion, receiving
“ the said wood from a person who in no wise had
“ any charge of it : moreover at the same time
“ scan-

“ scandalously gave out, that the said Royal
 “ African Company were become bankrupts, and
 “ did much incense the country people against
 “ their servants, advising them to seize on their
 “ effects there.

“ We, who have hereunto subscribed, are ready
 “ to take oath, when thereunto called, that the
 “ said Charles Eaton did verbally tell us so, and
 “ Matthew Skinner also, an inhabitant in the
 “ place, did inform us the same,

Robert Ford, commander.

Charles Senskall, chir.

John Booth, gunner.

“ We, who have hereunto subscribed, do attest
 “ this to be a true copy of an original now be-
 “ fore us,

Maurice Matthew, clerk.

Thomas Williams.

Robert Beere.

John Bridgman.

Humphrey Lowe.

III. “ **T**HESE are to certify the Royal African
 “ Company of England, or whom it
 “ may concern, that upon the return of Thomas
 “ Cocker (agent for the said Royal African Com-
 “ pany) to Sherbrow, from his voyage to the
 “ Northward, he found all the cam-wood, and
 “ other merchandizes, which were purchased by
 “ your factors at Kiddam, deceitfully taken, or
 “ rather stolen off our factory, by Charles Eaton,
 “ interloper; on which occasion the said Thomas
 “ Cocker was forced to proceed for the purchasing
 “ others. When he arrived at the King's town,
 “ there was no liberty to be granted for his pro-
 “ ceeding

“ceeding for the river of Kiddam, without going
“ashore to make a cry (as they term it) for the
“old King’s answer was made, that the time would
“not permit of so long tarrying there, but at his
“return would satisfy them in all points. All
“this is not availing any thing; but after a delay
“of seven or eight days there, he was forced to
“go ashore to discourse with the King, with all
“the men in arms that then accompanied him,
“where, after a small debate, with about 150*
“bars charges, and the stoppage of two negroes,
“got liberty to pass: all this being upon, or
“occasioned by the scandalous and villainous
“reports of that base treacherous fellow, the very
“scum of mankind (Eaton.) Thus we proceeded
“for the river of Kiddam, where we found the
“same game played there as was below, the
“people being very insolent. About 20 days
“after our arrival there we got sight of the King,
“with whom we had 10 days pallabras (or treaty)
“with an addition of 200† bars expence, before
“liberty to trade was granted, and then, with our
“arms in our hands, after our negotiating was
“completed, we made what dispatch we could
“for this place, but, contrary to all expectation,
“found all things in great disorder, the new King
“having set up his purrow (as they call it) or
“proclamation, that we should have no trade
“with his people for country-provisions, or any
“other commodities. Whereupon the said Tho-
“mas Cocker sent for the King to demand the
“reasons of all this disturbance. His answer was,
“That he could not venture his body without a
“barge; whereupon the messenger was dispatched
“away with the great barge to fetch him: but
“that was only a pretence to delay time, to call
“the

* 150 bars is 45*l.* sterling. † 200 bars, or 60*l.* sterling.

“ the whole people of his country together, as
“ we found afterwards. Upon his arrival at the
“ factory, he brought not above 120 men with
“ him, or thereabouts, but before he was 24 hours
“ here, above 5 or 600 of them landed upon our
“ island. This unexpected fight, or rather mi-
“ racle, put us upon making the best defence we
“ could for ourselves, having had some little sur-
“ mise before of their intentions (which was to cut
“ us all off) but they finding we were provided
“ for them, before they could accomplish their
“ designs, and after a vast expence of 500 * bars
“ more, it was brought to a palabra (or treaty of
“ agreement) the whole discourse depending upon
“ Charles Eaton, as aforesaid, his giving out re-
“ ports of your honours being threatened to be
“ put in Newgate, for begging leave of the Par-
“ liament to sell your factories to the French, and
“ deducting two-thirds of your servants wages to
“ help to sustain the loss you have had in the late
“ war, thereby to dishearten them to serve you,
“ which in some measure took effect; for he,
“ using those methods, persuaded three of your
“ servants, then out of this factory, to desert your
“ service, and enter into his own, namely, John
“ Howard, Caleb White, and John Kemp: a great
“ encouragement for the country people to do
“ what he had formerly prompted them to. Fur-
“ ther, he particularly mentioned Mr. Urban Hall,
“ saying he was laughed or hooted out of the
“ Parliament-house, when he was there upon the
“ Royal African Company's business. A second
“ part of it was the taking hold of their people,
“ and killing others upon pretended debts, as it
“ was termed by Capt. Robert Ford, commander
“ of the New-London interloper. For all these
“ and

* 500 bars, or 150 l. sterling.

“ and other circumstances relating to this matter
“ (all occasioned by the aforementioned persons)
“ they still demand satisfaction, as appears by
“ tarras (or tallies) that the King left upon the
“ factory for above 400* bars more.

“ We, who have hereunto subscribed, are
“ ready to attest what is herein upon oath, when
“ thereunto called, as witness our hands this 29th
“ of July 1698,

Richard Bridgman.

Robert Davis.

William Bridgman.

John Bridgman.

Stephen Jackson.

John Prowde.

Robert Loadman.

Gawin Lithgow.

John Bull.

“ We, who have hereunto subscribed, do at-
“ test this to be a true copy of an original now
“ before us,

Maurice Mathew, clerk.

Thomas Williams.

Robert Beere.

John Bridgman.

Humphrey Lowe.

GAMBIA. Paragraph of a letter from Messrs. Nathan Piles, Thomas Rayner, and Richard Oakley, dated 4 March 1700.

IV. “ **T**HE whole trade of the river is in the
“ hands of the ten per cent. ships, who
“ are here at present, seven in number, some from
“ Carolina, and the rest from England, who daily
“ encrease

* 400 bars, or 120l. sterling.

“ encrease the price of slaves in this river, which
 “ is very prejudicial to your interest. Before Mr.
 “ Gresham’s decease, our factory at Joally was
 “ insulted by the King, who seized 7 or 800 * bars
 “ cargo, upon account of one slave taken away
 “ from him unpaid for, by one Captain Smith, a
 “ ten per cent. ship trading in this port, and then
 “ bound to the river for further trade; which
 “ slave being afterwards returned by Mr. Gresham,
 “ yet denied the return of our goods: so that we
 “ stand in fear of settling a factory there, which is
 “ a considerable loss to your honours, it being
 “ the chiefest support to the fort we had here-
 “ abouts.”

SIERRA-LEON. Mr. Henry Greenway, in a post-
 script to his letter of 4 April 1702, writes, viz.

V. “ **I** Suppose I need not enlarge of the King’s
 “ intentions on you at Sherbrow, believing
 “ Mr. Barker has done it to the full to you, he
 “ knowing him better than I do; but I perceive,
 “ by several symptoms, that he has no good in-
 “ tent toward Englishmen, he having got five
 “ small guns mounted, and hath made some ten
 “ per cent. men promise to bring him more next
 “ year, otherwise he tells them they shall have no
 “ wood; by which guns he may command the
 “ passage up the river.”

Extract of a letter from John Freeman, late agent
 for the Royal African Company at Sierra-Leon,
 to his wife, which came accidentally to the com-
 pany’s hands.

VI. “ **M**R. Peregrine Brown, in Crutched-
 “ Friars, is a principal man; Mr.
 “ Goodwin, the scrivener in Change-alley, and
 “ (I

* 218, or 240 l. sterling.

“ (I understand) Mr. More, a Distiller, and part-
 “ ner with one Tanner, a Quaker, on St. Mary-
 “ hill, trade to these parts. They must be talked
 “ with with great caution, and, above all, not be
 “ shewn the invoice of goods in demand here, till
 “ they have consigned a ship to us.”

VII. “ **J**oseph Sparpin, late quarter-master of
 “ the Olive-Tree, now second mate of
 “ the Bridgwater, deposeth, that in January 1704-5,
 “ he came into the river Gambia in the Olive-tree,
 “ and about three or four days after their arrival
 “ (and before Mr. Crookshank the supercargo had
 “ disposed of any goods) he, the said Crookshank,
 “ sent the chief mate and this deponent, with a
 “ long-boat without goods, but only a letter from
 “ Mr. Chidley to Charles Man, then at Anchor-
 “ wall, and of him they received 174 teeth,
 “ which weighed 4278 pounds, by virtue of that
 “ letter, which teeth were brought on board the
 “ Olive-tree, and there marked C+B, and about
 “ three or four days after sent by Crookshank on
 “ board the Hastings man of war. And he fur-
 “ ther saith, that before the Olive-tree weighed to
 “ go to Joar, Mr. Chidley sent on board the
 “ Olive-tree his pinnace, twice loaded with teeth,
 “ which Crookshank received, and marked as be-
 “ fore, and then sent Chidley two hogsheds full
 “ of bottles of ale, and other things. Whilst
 “ Crookshank was at Joar, Chidley came in there
 “ in his pinnace to visit him, and they were (as
 “ much as possibly they could be) together.

Jurat' 9 April 1706.
 John Pery.

Joseph Sharpin.

GAMBIA. 21 October 1706. Capt. John Tozer writes, viz.

VIII. “**M**R. Chidley (as I am informed) took
 “ his departure the 22d of June last,
 “ in the Olive-tree (a ten per cent. ship) for Vir-
 “ ginia, with considerable effects, but to what
 “ value is not exactly known.”

Memorandum, That the Royal African Com-
 pany have several letters from Mr. John Snow,
 agent at Gambia, Capt. Charles Cook, and Co-
 lonel Gawin Corbin of Virginia, containing long
 narratives of many gross frauds and abuses com-
 mitted by ditto Chidley, while he was in the
 company's service at Gambia, but are (for bre-
 vity's sake) omitted here till further occasion.

SHERBROW. Messieurs Henry Glynn and Henry
 Gadbury, in a postscript to their letter of 26
 April 1707, write, viz.

IX. “**C**Apt. Gordon brings us news, that
 “ your treasurer is run away with all
 “ your money, and that you are not able to send
 “ us any more ships, which very much disheartens
 “ our people. One John Mason, on that news,
 “ has left your service, and entered on board
 “ Gordon, who pretends to have a commission to
 “ carry home any subject of England that desires
 “ it. One John Wenham, a writer, and a very
 “ serviceable man, to whom the charge of the
 “ teeth sent to Sierra-Leon was given, meeting
 “ some country people on board Gordon, who
 “ were indebted to your honours for some slaves,
 “ and acquainting them that he had orders to de-
 “ mand

“ mand them, caused some quarrelling amongst
“ them ; on which one of them, by name Lewis
“ Corba, promised to do his business (as our Gro-
“ mettos who were sent on board inform us) and
“ he was as good as his word, for the man died
“ next morning, in less than three hours after he
“ left the ship ; and, by the manner of his dying
“ it is judged he was poisoned, for he drank much
“ water, and his nails turned black and came off,
“ and his belly burst.”

Paragraph of a letter from Mr. John Clark, dated
York-Island, in the river Sherbrow, 26 April
1707.

X. “ **M**R. Freeman took his departure from
“ this place the 27th of Oct. last. Mr.
“ Glynn carried (of your honours effects) with
“ him, when the ship was going, nine good men-
“ slaves, and a sloop-load of cam-wood, and 20
“ large elephants teeth.”

Memorandum, He went in the Raper-Galley
commanded by Capt. Bonham, a private trader.

Another paragraph of the same letter.

“ **T**H E advice I had about Mr. Freeman’s
“ carrying away your honours cam-wood
“ and slaves, was from Charles Gardiner, a 10 per
“ cent. factor, who also told me, that Mr. Free-
“ man and he made a contract to carry on a sepa-
“ rate trade, and that your sloop was his, and
“ Gardiner was to have the half of her. I can
“ make it appear by the books, that the sloop
“ stands you in 372 bars, besides workmanship.”

Paragraph of a letter from agent John Clark,
dated at Sherbrow 24 May 1708.

“ **T**HE 12th of February last arrived Mr. John
“ Freeman, in a 10 per cent. ship, the
“ John, Capt. Richard Shoebrick commander.
“ Mr. Freeman has endeavoured all he can to
“ discourage your honours servants in these parts,
“ and withal to withdraw them for his own use.”

From ditto, dated 30 June 1708.

“ **F**REEMAN has strictly charged all his people
“ not to carry any letter or any account for
“ me. Freeman has certainly carried off all the
“ flag-stones and bricks of Bence-Island, and
“ would have carried the guns off, but had not
“ strength, telling his people he would pay him-
“ self. I design to take them from him speedily.”

Ditto.

“ **F**REEMAN has paid him (the King of
“ Sherbrow) 100 bars more than I did at the
“ arrival of the Greyhound. The King swears,
“ that at the arrival of every ship of your honours
“ he will have the same, else I shall not pass the
“ river.”

Ditto.

“ **W**HEN Capt. Tozer arrived (as is usual)
“ I sent a white man with Gromettos to
“ invite him (the King of Sherbrow) to the island,
“ and receive his cole: what money I sent him he
“ received, and panyared the white man and one
“ of the Gromettos, whom he still keeps in custo-
“ dy, and can give no reason for it, only nonsense
“ which that Freeman infused in him.”

I shall conclude this chapter (reserving my reflections on the contents thereof till another occasion) with what I happened to learn in a conversation which I had some few days ago with a very intelligent person, who lived a considerable time at Gambia.

He declared that, in the year 1702, five private ships being in the river of Gambia at once, gave from 20 to 23 bars per head for negroes, more than the company's servants gave before the arrival of these ships, and that they lowered the price of English goods one third.

That Captain Rhett, Captain Tudor, Captain Forty, and Captain Beckford, all private traders, traded with the company's servants, especially Captain Beckford, by whose persuasion and contrivance goods belonging to the company were carried off, to the value of 5000*l.* and upwards.

That the natives have several times attempted to seize on vessels belonging to the company and private traders.

That where the company have small factories up the river, without any fortification or force to protect them, the same are subject to seizures at the pleasure of the Kings there, even though they knew that the company's servants would make reprisal.

That the natives know very well, that when ships are part-slaved, the purchasers must give any rate for the remainder of their respective complements, rather than endanger the loss of the rest, and that therefore the natives do impose upon them accordingly. And

That, in his opinion, the trade to that coast can never be carried on effectually without forts, or otherwise than by a joint-stock ; and that,

if required, he would declare and certify the truth of all the aforesaid particulars to the parliament.

C H A P. II.

Extracts of several written testimonies and advices sent to the Royal African Company, concerning the conduct and practices of the separate traders on the Gold-Coast.

From Cape-Coast Castle, the 28th of May 1698, Messrs. Nicholas Buckeridge, William Cooper and John Brown, write, viz.

I. “ **Y**OU will perceive what damage interlopers do, as well on this coast as at
 “ Whidah, lowering the prices of all European
 “ goods, and advancing the price of slaves. If
 “ some speedy remedy be not applied, we must
 “ be forced to lower our goods, otherwise no
 “ traders will come near us: the Dutch have already lowered their perpets to 9^{ac}, and talk of
 “ taking off another angle; but as theirs are inferior to ours, we keep ours at 10^{ac}, at which
 “ price, if interlopers be kept off, doubt not but
 “ shall vend considerable quantities. There is
 “ not a Negroe upon the coast will vend a slave
 “ now for six or seven pieces per head (a piece is
 “ 20 shillings) so that we are forced to advance
 “ another piece.”

From Messieurs Nicholas Buckeridge, Howsley Freeman, and Samuel Wallis, dated Cape-Coast-Castle the 16th of April 1699.

II. “ **I**T is to be feared Captain Bags will make
“ a long stay upon this coast before he
“ vends his cargo, trade being very dull, and
“ many ships in these parts, who rather give their
“ goods away than sell them, disposing perpetually
“ for six angles.”

From Captain Matthew Wilson, of the Company's ship Edward and William, dated King's-Town, Whidah, the 26th of June 1699.

III. “ **W**E arrived the 31st of May, having
“ purchased 215 Negroes. The cargo, with what has been disposed of on the Gold-Coast, will fall very short of our complement, the King playing tricks with us, as likewise with the other ships that are here. When we came to pay him, he raised his price from his first agreement, being grown very haughty and proud since Whidah has been attended with so many ships.”

From Messieurs Nicholas Buckeridge, Howsley Freeman and Samuel Wallis, dated Cape-Coast-Castle the 5th of March 1699.

IV. “ **W**ITH submission to your honours, it
“ is no wonder the 10 per cent. men
“ make voyages, when at the same time we have
“ little or no business, which is customary in all
“ parts of the world where ships resort to, unless
“ their cargoes are consigned to some factor, or
“ others

“ others on shore ; for the natives and inhabitants
 “ will never come to a factory or shop to lay out
 “ their money, when they can buy goods 30 per
 “ cent. cheaper on board a ship than can be af-
 “ farded in either of the former. The 10 per cent.
 “ men, for the most part, sold perpetts at six
 “ ackeys each, and so proportionably the rest of
 “ their merchandize.”

From Mr. Gabb (a short time surveyor) dated
 Cape-Coast-Castle the 15th of September 1700.

V. “ **M**R. Edward Barter is allowed to do
 “ what he pleases, for he fetched a-
 “ shore, and secured in his house, all such goods
 “ by night as they (writing of the then chief fac-
 “ tors) are ashamed to let others see, and have
 “ oftentimes of late 1500 or 2000 pounds worth
 “ of goods of all sorts vendible here.”

From Mr. Thomas Peck, dated James-Fort,
 Accra, the 30th of June 1701.

VI. “ **A**S to slaves, the 10 per cent. men are
 “ my only interrupters in acquiring
 “ any, they giving six or eight angles more than
 “ your honours allow, which has been the real
 “ occasion that so many slaves have been shipped
 “ from Annamaboe.”

From Messieurs Howsley Freeman, Thomas Peck
 and William Hicks, dated Cape-Coast-Castle
 the 6th of November 1701.

VII. “ **O**N the 4th of September, being Sun-
 “ day, the Blacks in a tumultuous
 “ manner approached towards the castle (of An-
 “ namaboe) broke open the outer spur-gate, and
 “ set

“ set fire to our out-walls and corn-room, firing
“ also at the castle; but, by firing the great guns,
“ they soon quitted their ground, and false pre-
“ tensions too: in requital that night, from the
“ castle, we burnt the major part of the town.
“ This continued for 22 days, at which time they
“ requested a truce, and that they would compose
“ these matters to our desires, the King of Saboe
“ being come there for that intent; the which we
“ granted. They objected against nothing that
“ we proposed to them, and for their fidelity they
“ took fetishes (that is their oaths) according to
“ the custom of the country, rendering up their
“ own sons also, as pawns for their better per-
“ formance of this agreement, and payment of
“ the damage done to your honours fort; but
“ since, by the encouragement of the 10 per cent,
“ men (Captain Benson, in a ship, the Amity,
“ from London, giving them then all the as-
“ sistance he could, which we hope your honours
“ will take notice of) they begin to play the old
“ game again, not regarding any agreement ever
“ made with them.”

From Captain Bernard Ladman, of the Spanish
Merchant, dated Commenda the 7th of Febru-
ary 1701-2.

VIII. “ **A**S for trade, I have met with very
“ little, the Blacks being afraid to
“ come aboard English ships, they having been
“ tricked by several, particularly of late by Capt.
“ James Francis, in the Sarah-galley, Captain
“ Bond in a brigantine, and two Captain Bills,
“ in sloops belonging to Jamaica and Barbadoes,
“ who, about the 19th of December last, did
“ surprize and carry away with them 24 Negroes,
“ belonging

“ belonging to Drowin, with 16 cows and a great
 “ parcel of teeth, as they came aboard to trade :
 “ some were redeemed, but had three for one.
 “ The same method they take all along the coast.
 “ If there be not care taken to prevent such vil-
 “ laines, our English colours will be of no use to
 “ us, for the Negroes study revenge, and are re-
 “ solved to seize upon what they can. Accordingly
 “ on the 27th of Dec. Capt. Daniel Lowis, of
 “ the Dolphin sloop belonging to London, being
 “ at anchor off of Drowin to trade, great numbers
 “ of Negroes came to trade, and surprized them
 “ all, took all that was in the vessel and run her
 “ ashore, where she staved in pieces. The mate
 “ and boatswain escaped in the boat, but the com-
 “ mander and the rest of his men they drove up
 “ into the country ; but since they are more mo-
 “ derate to them, and have admitted of an ex-
 “ change for the captain and his cook, having six
 “ negroes for themselves. The doctor is likewise
 “ cleared, by reason they had cut his head, and
 “ could not tell what to do with him. Captain
 “ Lowis is now aboard of me, and gives me this
 “ account ; but the rest of the men are still at
 “ Drowin.”

From Messieurs Howsley Freeman, William Hicks
 and Peter Dowse, dated Cape-Coast-Castle the
 5th of February 1702-3.

IX. “ **W**E are apt to believe that several
 “ vessels come to these parts without
 “ paying their duty, and pass by us here ; for,
 “ about a fortnight since, past by one Capt. Bains,
 “ in a large vessel from Liverpool. We sent a
 “ canoe on board, with a white man, to examine
 “ his clearances, which he refused to produce,
 “ and

“ and would never come near any of your ho-
“ nours forts, going always under the protection
“ of the Dutch; which we hope your honours
“ will take notice of.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coast-Castle
the 23d of May 1704.

X. “ **S**OME few days before * Mr. Gabb died,
“ he delivered to Captain Charles Martin,
“ commander of the Ann Bonadventure, two large
“ bulses of gold, in the presence of one Mollata
“ Quashee, Mr. Gabb’s boy, so called, though
“ 25 or 30 years of age, and declared the same to
“ Mr. Brown there, and to me here; and though
“ he could not tell the weights, he could shew
“ the weights, and shewed them to him there,
“ and to me here; for he weighed them, and
“ those weights which he shewed there, and here,
“ were 12 † marks and 4 ounces, and said it was
“ good Arcania gold. He himself put it up, and
“ also took a bulse of your gold, put it up to be
“ sent hither as the balance of his late month’s
“ account, and put it among that which was deli-
“ vered to Capt. Martin. Capt. Martin would
“ never own that he had any gold of Gabb, till
“ he saw it so well proved, and then told Mr.
“ Brown there that he had some, but would not
“ tell how much, nor to whom to be delivered.”

From Ditto.

XI. “ **I** Have discoursed Capt. Martin several
“ times of this affair, and I could bring
“ him to own nothing more than as before: he
“ would be fair in words, and would say he could
“ do

* Mr. Gabb was chief of the Company’s fort at Annamaboe.

† A mark is eight ounces.

“ do any thing I could ask him to do, so as to
“ preserve his honour. I told him, his honour
“ was to do justice to those to whom the gold did
“ belong; that Capt. Gabb was the Company’s
“ servant, and was much in their debt; that he
“ (the said Capt. Martin) had the very gold which
“ was put up by Gabb for the Company, and all
“ the gold too which he had taken since for the
“ Company; for here was no Arcania gold left,
“ and all that he had since the last month, as well
“ as the last month’s balance, was to help to make
“ up that gold, if it did not make it all up, for
“ he had sold a great deal of goods, and all that
“ he had taken for them was Arcania gold, he
“ being to take no other, and that his honour was
“ concerned, as if he had been entrusted by a
“ pick-pocket, highwayman, or one that robbed
“ his master, which he must not discover lest an
“ honest man should come to his own; and that
“ I thought, if this had been done in England,
“ he was indictable for receiving and concealing
“ of stolen goods, or for abetting, aiding and
“ assisting the thief, the villain, or the cheat, for
“ I could term it no otherways. All that I could
“ get from him was, that that was more than he
“ knew, and that it was lawful for him to take
“ any thing upon freight. I told him this place
“ differed from other places; that none of the
“ Company’s servants here were allowed to trade
“ but for the Company; and that they could call
“ no gold their own. He said he had carried
“ many a score marks of gold from the Company’s
“ servants, and hoped he should carry many more
“ score marks of gold for them. I told him, that
“ the Company have been robbed of many a score
“ marks of gold, and as he had assisted their ser-
“ vants to cheat the Company, so he hoped to go
“ on

“ on with them in their cheating, and therefore
“ would not do the fair thing now, lest he should
“ not be entrusted again by the villains he should
“ find or make here.”

From Ditto.

“ **A**FTER these, this affair was argued
“ yesterday on board Capt. Ash, where was
“ Capt. Martin and Capt. Ingle, all 10 per cent.
“ men now in this Road, and there was argued
“ with the reasonableness of what I proposed to
“ Capt. Martin, which was, that he should name
“ the quantity of gold he had, and give obliga-
“ tion to deliver the gold to you, you indemnify-
“ ing him from all demands whatsoever. It was
“ not to be debated; Ash would not do it for a
“ thousand pounds, and so it went, nemine con-
“ tradicente, not to be done. This is their Diana;
“ for if the power of helping your factors to cheat
“ you be taken away (which they are afraid would
“ in a great measure be taken away, if men once
“ told the ill your servants did) the captains
“ would be undone; and if you cannot have a law
“ to prevent it, I am sure (gentlemen) you will,
“ as to your stock in the African trade, be undone,
“ for I will defy the honestest, wisest and care-
“ fullest man here, ever to have your people ho-
“ nest, while so many seducers are tempting your
“ servants, and putting them in the way to wrong
“ you, as is evident not a 10 per cent. captain
“ but does. They will not allow it wronging, to
“ bring the gold from your people, nor selling
“ them goods for gold, though they are well as-
“ sured that your servants are not worth a cra-cra
“ (or farthing) of their own, and know that they
“ are bound by oaths and obligations not to trade,
“ directly

“ directly or indirectly, but to and for your
 “ account only. I should not think it hard to
 “ obtain a law to oblige people to perform their
 “ voluntary agreements, if reasonable, and agreed
 “ to by men of age and discretion, at the time of
 “ their agreeing to it (if ever they will have discre-
 “ tion) and to prevent the seducers from tempting
 “ them.”

From Ditto.

XI. “ **I** Am sensible that the West-India colonies
 “ (I mean the islands and Virginia) are
 “ very valuable to England, and their true interest
 “ ought duly to be considered, and that nothing
 “ be done to their prejudice. It is certainly their
 “ true interest to have Negroes best in their kind,
 “ healthy, strong, and cheapest: the way they are
 “ now served is not the way demonstrably. For-
 “ merly as good Negroes were bought on this
 “ coast for £. 3, and £. 3 10s. as now cost £. 11,
 “ and in some few years, in this way of trading,
 “ will (I believe) come to £. 15, for the more
 “ different buyers there are, the dearer they will
 “ be made, as appears evidently by their yearly
 “ increasing in price, as they have done for these
 “ several years past, by having so many buyers,
 “ all in haste to be gone from hence; and by their
 “ under-selling and out-bidding one another, they
 “ keep each the other as long, if not longer, than
 “ if the prices of goods were kept up, and the
 “ prices of Negroes kept down: and if the diffe-
 “ rent prices of goods in former days, compared
 “ to what they are sold at now, were added to the
 “ price of Negroes now given, I believe every
 “ good Negro is now worth £. 15; and who must
 “ pay those prices? The colonies certainly.
 “ Therefore it is a demonstration they suffer by
 “ this method.”

From

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
29 Oct. 1704.

XII. “ **M**R. Dudley was removed before my
“ time, and the account of his crimes
“ sent you by Mr. Brown, Major and Willis; but
“ what I learn is, viz.

	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.
He sold in Jan. 1702	— 7	2	2	1
In March 1702-3	— 4	2	0	2
In May, June and July, 1703	9	5	1	3
In Sept. Oct. and Nov.	23	7	6	2
	43	16	9	8
	16			
	9			
	8			
	—			

In all 76 slaves.

And of these he sold to fundry persons, as I am
informed, viz.

To Captain Francis Morgan	—	—	2
To Captain Rogers	—	—	5
To a private trader sent to Dickes-cove			4
To ditto at Cape-Coast-Castle	—	—	3
To Captain Impin	—	—	14
To Captain Gill	—	—	7
To Captain Normanton	—	—	13
To Captain Maxwell	—	—	1
To Emanuel de Sylva, at Commenda			1
To Captain Codnor	—	—	2
			52

The remainder not known to whom
disposed of — — — — — 24

76 slaves.
From

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
14 Jan. 1704.

XII. “**T**HE Rooke-galley, and your Davers-
“ galley, are still at Annamaboe, pur-
“ chasing their slaves, and as yet met but with
“ very indifferent success, the first having pur-
“ chased only 60, and the latter 28 Negroes.
“ The 10 per cent. men who are there, spoil the
“ markets extremely, by out-bidding us all at
“ once, by which means they began to out-do
“ your ships in buying, until that I, being ad-
“ vised thereof, ordered your factors and captains
“ to give as much for a Negro, and sell your
“ goods as cheap as they; for I am resolved not
“ to hold the candle to them any longer, as was
“ done by my predecessors, let the consequence
“ be as it will. You have been sufferers in the
“ trade enough by that already, and since one or
“ other must unavoidably be done, I think that
“ buying and selling at or near their price is the
“ better of the two; for, considering the expence
“ you are at upon the coast, it is better to trade
“ at any rate, than not at all.”

From John Smith, dated at Annamaboe, 6 Feb.
1704.

XIII. “**S**INCE I came hither, I have done as
“ much as possible to oblige the na-
“ tives, and increase as well as maintain your
“ honours interest with them, which at first
“ seemed to have good effect; but since the ar-
“ rival of several 10 per cent. ships, I have not
“ been able to keep the trade to the fort, for
“ there can be no limitation to the price of good
“ slaves

“ slaves when other ships out-bid us, which I am
“ positive has been done by Captain Prince, he
“ having given £. 14 each for men, as also by one
“ Captain Normanton, in a brigantine bound for
“ Jamaica, who first sold blue perpets for five
“ angles each, and before he went off disposed of
“ several for four angles.”

From John Brown, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
18 Feb. 1704.

XIV. “ **W**E sell and buy as they (the private
“ traders) do, which puts them to
“ their wits end what to do, and obliges them to
“ lower their goods to less, and raising their price
“ for slaves, if they will have them; for they
“ have no way of out-trading your honours but
“ by underfelling. The measure they now take
“ is down-right undoing one another, by out-
“ felling and out-bidding us, and each the other
“ among themselves too, that one would take
“ them to be out of their senses, or sent hither to
“ try, not who shall get most, but who shall lose
“ most for his owners.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated at Cape-Coast-
Castle, 13 May 1705.

XV. “ **C**aptain Gladman, in the Shrewsbury-
“ galley, in the service of Sir Jeffrey
“ Jeffreys (as I am informed) brought out hither
“ for sale 18 guns, about three years since, and
“ sold them to John Cabess, and built him his
“ flanker up, in opposition to your fort at Com-
VOL. V. O “ menda;

“ menda ; and (as I am informed) Captain Ingle,
“ master, the last voyage of her, brought out six
“ guns, and sold them to John Cabefs ; and this
“ voyage from the West-Indies he brought out
“ 23 pounders to sell, I suppose to John Cabefs :
“ I advised him not to sell them to the Blacks,
“ for if he did, he might severely pay for it. He
“ then offered them to me, for your honours ac-
“ count, but they being too big for salutes, and
“ too little for offending a sea-enemy, we did not
“ agree.

“ I am told that the people of Lahoo have 18
“ guns well mounted upon batteries round their
“ town, and the town very well pallifadoed.
“ They are arrived to so much knowledge, that
“ they can defend themselves, and carry their guns
“ up the river in great canoes to offend their ene-
“ mies. The King of Whidah, and the King of
“ Quamboo, have a great many very fine guns ;
“ the King of Saboo has two. It is true, these
“ people do not at present understand how to use
“ them, but how soon they may, none can tell ;
“ nor is it unreasonable to think, that they may
“ take it to be their interest to hire a white man
“ to make them masters of gunnery, and there is
“ seldom wanting a renegado white man to instruct
“ the worst of enemies, when well offered, and
“ when that's done, farewell forts and castles, the
“ trade of this coast, and every thing else but
“ cruelty and inhumanity here. Something is
“ necessary to be done, to prevent the selling of
“ great guns to the Blacks, either by the English
“ or Dutch : I believe there are severe laws in
“ both nations, and I am of opinion, that it is the
“ English only that do this.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated at Cape-Coast-Castle, 30 May 1705.

XVI. “ **H**E (the Dutch general) is the 10 per cent. mens Diana, and they pay all
“ adoration, with great presents, to him. In a
“ little time, not a man of them will come out
“ without presents for him. Captain Prince, in
“ the Marlborough, stopt there the 25th instant,
“ and staid with him two days; and he bragged
“ to Mr. Brown that he had plenty of beer, wine,
“ &c. and a silver punch-bowl from thence. He
“ past by us, and in his passing he was so civil as
“ to salute the flag, which was more than he did
“ last voyage, and then stopt a day at Morea (a
“ Dutch fort) I suppose to take in slaves and
“ corn.”

From John Chaigneau, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
2 April 1707.

XVII. “ **I** Must own your honours have been
“ great sufferers on the sale of goods
“ these two or three years past; it was Sir Dalby
“ Thomas’s opinion so to do, rather than the 10
“ per cent. men should carry all the trade. Mr.
“ Thomas Peck was the first 10 per cent. man
“ (since my time) that began to lower the price of
“ goods, especially perpets, which he sold at five
“ ackeys. I was then chief at Agga, and am cer-
“ tain the 10 per cent. men did always sell cheaper
“ than we did, and not Sir Dalby, as they pre-
“ tend: the reason of it is so plain, that none but
“ themselves can say against it. No people in the
“ world (I believe) understand their interest better
“ than the Blacks of the Gold-Coast, and could

“ they supply their wants as cheap at your ho-
 “ nours factories as they do aboard 10 per cent.
 “ ships, one would think they would not put
 “ themselves to the charge of canoe-hire, and the
 “ hazard of over-setting with their goods, as very
 “ often they do: besides that advantage on the
 “ price of goods, they have that on the price of
 “ slaves also, which they could not expect to sell
 “ so dear, were not the 10 per cent. men so for-
 “ ward and so free of what is not their own. It is
 “ a great misfortune that your honours have so
 “ many to contend with, and of that temper,
 “ that, rather than you should get, they would
 “ willingly lose; for I dare say there are very few
 “ of them but who are losers by the slave-trade.”

From Seth Grosvenor, dated Winnebago, the 2d of
 March, 1707-8.

XVIII. “ **T**HE 10 per cent. ships are a mighty
 “ prejudice to our trade, for when
 “ they are upon the coast, and near slaved, they
 “ dispose of their goods at prime cost for dispatch,
 “ and give very extravagant prices for slaves.”

From John Paston, dated Agga, the 3d of March
 1707-8.

XIX. “ **T**HE 10 per cent. men's using this
 “ place so much has made slaves ex-
 “ cessive dear. Captains Normanton and Martin
 “ from Bristol, Captains Bonham and Porter, the
 “ former from London, the other from Barbadoes,
 “ slaved here before the battles were fought, and
 “ they gave 14 pieces current for men, and nine
 “ pieces for women, and Normanton, it is said,
 “ gave 15 pieces for men for his dispatch. When
 “ the

“ the battle was fought we expected slaves to be
“ cheap, but Captain Saunders, a Bristol-man,
“ Captain Corbin from London, Morgan and
“ Hayes in two brigantines, kept the prices up,
“ that we could not buy a man under 3 oz. 3 ac.
“ or 3 oz. 4 ac. a head, nor women under 2 oz.
“ 3 ac. or 2 oz. 4 ac. a head. Your honours ships
“ the Queen-Anne’s and Dorothy’s slaves most of
“ them cost this price. If your honours observe
“ this place all the year round, one year with
“ another, men-slaves are dearer by 12 ac. upon
“ a head, than they are to windward or leeward,
“ and women in proportion. There is but one
“ vessel in the road now (nor none other that we
“ can hear of upon the coast) and that is a bri-
“ gantine upon your honours account, from Mr.
“ Chester of Antegoa; I believe she will be flaved
“ in this road at 11 pieces the men, and seven the
“ women, in less time than her charter-party spe-
“ cifies.”

I have, merely for brevity’s sake, pretermitted here the extracts of several other pertinent letters and advices, sent to the Royal African Company, touching the proceedings of the separate traders and others on the Gold-Coast, since the year 1697, which truly I once intended to have inserted in this chapter; but understanding that there are now in this city several persons who have served the company on the coast of Africa, for some years together, in the respective qualities of agents, factors, captains, masters and mates of ships, lieutenants, serjeants, and gunners of forts, carpenters, &c, and that they are ready (if required) to attest the verity of the premisses, and several other material points of fact of the same nature, to the Parliament; and considering likewise, that the

several matters of fact already charged on the separate traders, in the first part of these Reflections, are sufficiently explained and vouched by the foregoing extracts, I think it needless to enlarge any further, at present, on the heads of this chapter, by particular reflections or otherways, and shall therefore reserve any reflections which I may have thereupon till some further occasion.

C H A P. III.

Extracts of several written testimonies and advices sent to the Royal African Company, touching the fraudulent and undermining practices of the general and agents of the Dutch West-India Company on the coast of Guinea, since the year 1697.

From Messieurs William Ronan, William Melrofs, and Nicholas Buckeridge.

- I. “ **B**Y a deserter from the Mina we are informed, that the Dutch Company have sent over positive orders to spare no costs to carry on the war, and drive us out of Com-menda; and for that end the general, with a large sum of money, hath corrupted the Brasso of Fanteen, and Captain of Quaman, to assist Little-Tagee, to whom we had lately given several dашees, to encourage them to be true to the English, for which they had taken fetishes (or oaths) to stop that current. We are necessitated to be at considerable expence to your
“ honours,

“ honours, to assist the Captain of Abra, Kings
“ of Agguaffo, Fetue and Saboo, who with us
“ are jointly resolved to depose the Braffo of
“ of Fanteen, and Captain of Quaman, and make
“ the Captain of Abra, Braffo in his stead, which,
“ with the Danchaes assistance (who side with the
“ King of Aguaffo, &c. and are coming down to
“ dispute their differences with the Arkames)
“ doubt not but shall frustrate all the Dutch de-
“ signs, and in a little time to have the way
“ so opened, as to have a considerable trade.
“ We hope your honours will consider, and use
“ such measures at home, that these their designs
“ may be frustrated, otherwise it will prove very
“ expensive to keep your honours interest at
“ Commenda, or any where else; for if they
“ should ever get the better there, they would
“ endeavour the destruction of all your honours
“ factories on the coast.”

From Mr. William Cooper, dated Cape-Coast-
Castle, 18 Dec. 1697.

II. “ **W**E have the welcome news of peace
“ by two Dutch interlopers, which, if
“ true, I hope may be a means to promote your
“ honours interest in the management of this
“ trade; which I think is very unjust, that others
“ should be suffered to reap the benefit of those
“ great expences your honours are daily at to
“ maintain it against our unchristian neighbours,
“ who would gladly spend all they have here, to
“ root out your honours possession on this coast.”

From Messieurs Nicholas Buckeridge, William Cooper and John Brown, dated Cape-Coast-Castle, 28 May 1698.

III. “ **W**E have at last regained your honours
 “ possession at Succundee. Doubt
 “ not, with the assistance of the Adoones, to keep it
 “ against all the wiles of our malicious neighbours,
 “ who, are sure, will make what opposition they
 “ can. We have sent Mr. Gabb thither, who
 “ hitherto we have found very careful in his em-
 “ ploy, and believe in this will use his utmost
 “ endeavours.”

From Messieurs Nicholas Buckeridge, William Cooper and John Brown, dated Cape-Coast-Castle, 26 June 1698.

IV. “ **T**HIS brings your honours the sad
 “ news of our white men’s being
 “ beaten off from your ancient possession of Suc-
 “ cundee, which we designed to have re-settled,
 “ as by our last advices ; it happening upon the
 “ 1st of June last, and was done and carried on
 “ by Dutch Blacks, privately sent from the Mina,
 “ some in their own ships and canoes, and the rest
 “ by land. We having, before-hand, secret in-
 “ telligence from several, of their pernicious in-
 “ tentions, sent to advise the general thereof, by
 “ ours of the 29th of May last, who owned to
 “ have sent them, as by his of the 9th inst. N. S.
 “ but covered their design. They went under
 “ pretence of going to demand a debt, as he had
 “ sent them for ; but from what they did when
 “ there, is evident he gave them no such com-
 “ mission ; the which, had he so pleased, he might
 “ have

“ have countermanded, but would not, we having
“ timely forewarned him, before any mischief was
“ done, to prevent it, and not suffer, nor send
“ his Blacks to molest our settlement, and to cut
“ off the lives of our white men, in service of your
“ honours there.”

Part of a letter from Messieurs Buckeridge, Cooper and Brown, dated Cape-Coast-Castle, 29 May 1698, to Mr. John Van Sevenhuyfen, General at the Mina.

V. “ **W**E were in hopes, by our late con-
“ tract, we should have lived in
“ amity, which truly is our desire; but we per-
“ ceive your mind is otherways bent, else you
“ would not send your people from the Mina by
“ land, or your ships by sea, to take our fort at
“ Succundee, for what reason we know not; we
“ are sure by no provocation from us, or the peo-
“ ple that are our friends. We do not desire to
“ molest your fort, and you must expect, if our
“ people be cut off, their lives will be required at
“ your hands.

“ Our sloop, by distress of weather, at Suc-
“ cundee-Road, losing both anchors, the master
“ sent on board your ship, desiring the lend of
“ one, but the messengers were answered by your
“ mate, “ It is true we have enough, but do you
“ think we will spare any to you; do you not see
“ we are sent to take your fort, and can you ex-
“ pect our help?” To which our men answered,
“ We must then perish.” To which your mate
“ slightly replied, “ Why then perish, and the
“ Lord have mercy upon your souls.”

From Messieurs Buckeridge, Cooper and Brown,
to Mr. John Van Sevenhuyfen, dated Cape-
Coast-Castle, 7 June 1698.

VI. “**Y**OUR’s of the 9th instant, N. S. have
“ received, wherein you seem to be dis-
“ gusted at the precaution we gave you of the
“ mischief we not only suspected, but was in-
“ formed of, by your own people, was intended
“ against ours at Succundee. We wish there had
“ been as little truth in it as you pretend, but we
“ find to the contrary, our white men being mur-
“ dered, and other black servants ; our slaves
“ seized, houses burned, the Royal African Com-
“ pany’s lawful possessions wrested by force and
“ violence from us ; and not only this, but the
“ surviving men stript and miserably abused by
“ them. You acknowledged to have sent them
“ with a sham pretence of receiving debts ; we are
“ not sensible of any debt due from our company
“ to your’s, if we were, you might assure yourself
“ of satisfaction upon demand, and not put you
“ to the trouble and charge of levying an army.
“ The occasion now of troubling you is, to know
“ whether you will acknowledge these things to
“ have been done by your order ; if so, we shall
“ leave it to your betters : but hoping to find it
“ otherwise, and that you deliver up those bloody
“ villains, the authors, to receive the punishment
“ suitable to the deserts of murder, &c. which in
“ justice you cannot deny : although you might,
“ by slight evasions, seek excuses, you cannot
“ reasonably think but that other satisfaction will
“ be required.

“ You

“ You are pleased to say you sent your ship to
“ look after interlopers, which we admire you
“ should pretend, when the whole country knows
“ of the contrary, she being never designed far-
“ ther than Butteroe and Succundee, at which
“ places you well knew she was not likely to meet
“ with any. Had you been wholly clear of this
“ action, your Copeman durst not have suffered
“ the plunderer to have been brought into his
“ fort, as was done, before all our white men’s
“ faces, and so barbarously to abuse them, and so
“ inhumanly to turn them abroad almost naked,
“ and with the captain to ridicule their misfor-
“ tunes. Our guns cannot be carried off by the
“ Blacks; and many other things are there lost,
“ which we expect you to enquire after, being
“ acted by persons commissioned by you.

“ We return you thanks for your generous
“ proffer of assisting us in the recovery of any
“ debts that should be due to our company from
“ any persons under your protection; there
“ are several now at the Mina, who were chief
“ actors in this action, considerably indebted to
“ our company, the which we long since advised
“ you of. We shall not further enlarge at present,
“ hoping, as you have always profest yourself a
“ strict observer of the amity and union of both
“ nations, you will now shew it by an exemplary
“ piece of justice, in delivering up the actors of
“ this bloody tragedy, as well for their debts as
“ this their other villainy; which, with due re-
“ spects, is all at present from, &c.”

From

From Ditto's to Ditto.

S I R, Cape-Coast-Castle, 16 July 1698.

VII. “ **W** H E N our white men, who were
 “ wounded at Succundee, are reco-
 “ vered, we shall take their depositions concerning
 “ what we wrote you in our last, and give the need-
 “ ful answer to your's. This, in the mean while,
 “ serves to inform, we are advised by our chief
 “ at Winnebah, that one of our company's slaves,
 “ named Coffee, travelling upon the road towards
 “ Mumford, to buy corn, was set upon between
 “ that and your factory at Apom, by one of your
 “ black servants, and two of your company's
 “ slaves there, who killed him, with more than
 “ 25 stabs in his body, cutting his neck round to
 “ the bone. Our said factor sent to your's at
 “ Apom, to demand satisfaction for the murder,
 “ which is denied, and is the reason we address
 “ ourselves to you, that if you do not approve of
 “ what they committed, you will now shew it by
 “ an exemplary justice done upon the murderers,
 “ which, with our joint respects, is what offers at
 “ present from, &c.”

From Messieurs Nicholas Buckeridge, Howsley
 Freeman, and Samuel Wallis, dated at Cape-
 Coast-Castle, 5 March 1699

VIII. “ **W** E shall observe your orders relating
 “ to Dutch interlopers, and not
 “ permit any into this Road; but we cannot,
 “ with safety to your honours interest, suffer the
 “ Dutch company's ships to come in or lie here,
 “ under the notion of intercepting them, for by
 “ that means we should never be clear of their
 “ ship-

“ shipping, and those loaded with goods, to rob
“ us of our trade. The Dutch West-India Com-
“ pany may make your honours abundance of
“ specious pretences of amity and friendly cor-
“ respondence, in point of settling the commerce
“ and other affairs of this country, but we are
“ satisfied it is impossible for them, or their agents
“ here, to keep any contract of that kind invio-
“ lable, especially when the least prospect of ad-
“ vantage appears on their side; as your honours
“ may be satisfied by a copy of Mr. Gerrard Gore’s
“ letter inclosed, wherein you will perceive their
“ sole endeavours are, as opportunity presents,
“ to supplant and undermine your honours inte-
“ rest and trade on the coast, as much as ever
“ they did the East-India Company’s at Amboyna,
“ and (if it were in their power) by the like bar-
“ barous methods.”

Copy of Gerrard Gore’s letter to the chief mer-
chants at Cape-Coast-Castle, dated Commenda
the 8th Feb. 1699-1700.

“ Worthy Sirs,

IX. “ **T**HIS comes acquainting your wor-
“ ships, that the Cuffera traders (which
“ in my last, of the 29th of Jan. I advised your
“ worships of) who bought some goods here, and
“ came to treat here of other goods, and of an
“ open way to bring traders here, who were
“ friends to Little Taggee, named Hooke-come,
“ who are assistants to Little Taggee in this fight,
“ going then a new way up into their country,
“ with two or three of John Cabess’s men, and
“ my canoe, and going up the river that is on
“ this side Shumah, they were all panyared (or
“ seized) by a Doom-Cabashire named Occrew,
“ who

“ who lives going up that river ; and he said that
 “ he was ordered to do the same by the Dutch,
 “ and to seize all English goods from all traders
 “ that had bought them here, and also further to
 “ panyar (or seize) all people and all things that
 “ belongs to, or comes from John Cabes. These
 “ men and goods have been panyared these eight
 “ days, but never heard thereof before this morn-
 “ ing, which I thought fit to acquaint your wor-
 “ ships of, having sent this by one of John Ca-
 “ bes’s men, and the canoe that brought this
 “ news, to inform your worships of the particu-
 “ lars more at large, is the needful at present,
 “ from, &c.”

From Messieurs Howsley Freeman, Tho. Peck,
 and William Hicks, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
 9 Feb. 1701-2.

X. “ **B**Efore the receipt of your’s, having no-
 “ tice of some villainies committed by
 “ Barter, being up in the country, sent for him
 “ down ; but he, being conscious of our having
 “ knowledge of his actions, flew up into the
 “ country. We doubt his under-hand dealings
 “ with the Dutch, who take his part (although
 “ Mr. Peck went to the Mina to consult them)
 “ will put us to some inconveniences.”

From Mr. Thomas Cooper (chaplain) dated Cape-
 Coast-Castle, 19 Sept. 1701.

XI. “ **T**HERE is war between us and the
 “ Blacks of Annamaboe, and all things
 “ are in disorder and confusion ; and likewise it is
 “ reported that the Dutch (contrary to the articles
 “ agreed upon) assist the Blacks with powder and
 “ guns.”

From

From Mr. William Coles, dated Accra, 24 April
1702.

XII. “ **O**N the 2d of March 1701-2, I arrived
“ at Cape-Coast-Castle in good health,
“ which, I bless God, continues. By reason of
“ my short stay there, cannot inform your honours
“ farther, than that they were full of Palavers,
“ the town’s people often disturbed by the Fetuese
“ firing into the town. Barter was then with the
“ Dutch at Commenda, where he has since flaved
“ off a brigantine, Capt. Corbin, commander.”

From ditto Coles, dated Winnebah, 14 Sept. 1702.

XIII. “ **O**N the death of the King of Quam-
“ boe, the King of Ackim has made
“ war, in which if he proves successful, will make
“ well for Accra and Alampoe. Concerning the
“ latter, I think it would be much to your ho-
“ nours interest to give some speedy and necessary
“ orders for finishing that fort. Capt. James has
“ already, by the instigation of the Danes and
“ Dutch, fallen from his promise in assisting the
“ people in that work.”

From Zorobabel Swinefield to James Gray, Esq;
dated Cape-Coast-Castle, 15 May 1703.

XIV. “ **H**OW much the Dutch are your ri-
“ vals in trade, your honour is a
“ judge; but it cannot be expected ours should
“ encrease, whilst they give Barter a protection,
“ under their castle, to stop any from coming in
“ here. I cannot tell what course the gentlemen
“ design to take for the future to prevent such
“ incon-

“inconveniences, but certainly at present we suffer
 “much by his villainy.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
 23 March 1703.

XV. “**O**N the 22d January I received a letter
 “from Mr. John Snow, your honours
 “chief at your fort of Winebah, dated 20th of
 “the said month, by which he gave me an ac-
 “count, that the Dutch were coming to settle at
 “Sanja or Barracoe-Point, in the country of An-
 “guina, near your fort of Winebah.

“The Dutch have a fort at a place called
 “Apong, within three leagues on this side (or,
 “as they call it, to windward) of Winebah, and
 “Sanja, or Barracoe-Point, within three leagues
 “on the other side (or to leeward) of Winebah;
 “so that, by this design, your honours fort was
 “to be hemmed in, and you defeated of your
 “trade, this last place being the only road left
 “for your traders to come to your fort at Wine-
 “bah, being a pass that all people must come
 “through who design for Winebah; and the
 “Dutch have never failed (as I have been in-
 “formed) by money or force, where they have
 “power, to hinder the traders from coming to
 “your forts, which made me the more concerned,
 “they well knowing that your goods would gain
 “all the traders, being better goods than theirs,
 “and more desirable by the natives.”

Ditto.

“**H**E (the Dutch general) also denied the deli-
 “very of Prince, alias Auricoo of Sanja,
 “alias Barraco, who was (when demanded by
 “Dr. Mitchel) in the castle of the Mina, a servant
 “of

“ of yours, and a native of the kingdom of An-
“ guina; one of those that put the general upon
“ settling at Sanja, near your honours fort at
“ Winebah.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated at Cape-Coast-
Castle, 9 April 1704.

XVI. “ **I** Hope you will prevent the Dutch
“ from driving you out of this country,
“ as by degrees they will, at all times, when they
“ can endeavour it. I shall not, without your
“ order, make use of the present power I have to
“ disturb them.”

Ditto.

“ **T**HE Dutch general gave him (Mr. Peck)
“ his list in every thing, and became, con-
“ trary to his promise to me, his great amico. He
“ would never come to Cape-Coast; wooded and
“ watered, by the Dutch general’s direction, at
“ Shumah.”

This is mentioned, because the Dutch general
knew Peck to be a late unfaithful servant of the
company’s.

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
29 Oct. 1704.

XVII. “ **I** Doubt not but, in a little time, to
“ make Succundee answer, which is
“ resettled with very little charge, though the
“ Dutch used all their stratagems to prevent it,
“ and offered great sums to bring the people upon
“ us; but they have been tired with their (Dutch)
“ tyranny.”

From ditto, dated 4 Jan. 1704.

XVIII. “ **B**Y the past, as well as present daily
 “ behaviour of the Dutch here, it is
 “ demonstrable that they will never keep any con-
 “ tract or agreement they make; for their treach-
 “ erous ways of dealings having got them so many
 “ possessions, it cannot be hoped to have any sin-
 “ cerity from them.

“ They have the advantage of all other nations;
 “ their ministers of state, and all other their law-
 “ makers, being merchants, and most generally
 “ interested in their trading companies, those
 “ companies never want proper laws nor encou-
 “ ragement, and the governors and generals of
 “ their societies in foreign parts never want the
 “ States protection, act they but wisely, be it
 “ never so treacherously.”

Ditto.

“ **T**HE Braffo of Fanteen, who is the head
 “ man of all that country where Cormantine
 “ is, sent me word that the Dutch general had
 “ been down at Cormantine, to stir the people
 “ against us, and that, with his and the King of
 “ Saboo’s instigation, they had brought many over
 “ to unite against us.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
 30 May 1705.

XIX. “ **T**HE Dutch General has also set up
 “ a Cabasheer at the Mina, to be Dey
 “ of Fetue, to oppose the Queen and the Dey
 “ that are with us, to hearten the people that are
 “ at

“ at Fetue not to return to their duty, and to
“ encourage them to hold out against your ho-
“ nours interest.”

From Mr. Charles Hayes, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
29 Aug. 1705.

XX. “ **I**T was the present management of the
“ Dutch that set me upon the enquiry ;
“ I have seen so much of their undermining tem-
“ per and dishonourable proceedings on this
“ coast, that I was willing to be informed what
“ part they acted in former days : by all that I
“ can learn, they are, in all times, unchangeable
“ and the same.

“ By their bribery and treachery your trade has
“ been stopt, goods seized, traders imprisoned,
“ your forts taken and destroyed, and several of
“ your servants lost their lives, openly defending
“ the honour and interest of their masters and
“ country against the bloody emissaries of the
“ Dutch ; and the villains who have been most
“ deeply concerned in such actions, they have
“ ever afterwards encouraged and protected :
“ they have spared neither cost nor charges to
“ interrupt and oppose your lawful settlements,
“ and to embroil those countries in war who dared
“ to espouse your interest ; they have seized your
“ goods and canoes by sea, and from their forts
“ fired great shot at yours, when they have had
“ the colours of Great-Britain flying on them ;
“ they have, in hostile manner, fired at your ser-
“ vants, both Whites and Blacks, when employed
“ about your business, at the peril of their lives ;
“ they have usurped to themselves the sovereignty
“ of the seas, guarding and insulting your roads,
“ taking ships of our allies out of some, and in

“ the very mouth of others, contrary to known
“ privileges, esteemed most sacred by all nations,
“ and in defiance to the crown and dignity of
“ England, to which of right they belong, and
“ who, on all other occasions, has ever appeared
“ singularly jealous of her honour and preroga-
“ tives at sea. In a word, they have neither va-
“ lued alliances nor the most sacred laws of nature
“ and nations, when they have had a point to
“ gain on this coast, justifying themselves by a
“ pretended right to most places on the coast,
“ which they as confidently assert as if they had
“ had immemorable prescription, and the univer-
“ sal consent of nations and the natives on their
“ side, none of which can they, in the least, pre-
“ tend to justly. Now, when you have suffered
“ as much as has been possible for them, by bar-
“ barity and treachery, to accomplish, must the
“ memory of such actions sink into forgetfulness?
“ That is the way to encourage them to go on in
“ their affronts and abuses ! It is, in my humble
“ opinion, high time to look out, and give warn-
“ ing, and, by a fair and impartial representation
“ of their management, for a series of many years,
“ to make the nation sensible what sort of people
“ they have to deal with, and to see whether their
“ actions do not correspond with that memorable
“ saying, ‘ That the Dutch are England’s eternal
“ enemies in trade, both by interest and inclina-
“ tion.’

“ And possibly it may then appear reasonable
“ to seek for that just satisfaction which the
“ wounded honour and interest of England, and
“ the blood of her innocent subjects, and your
“ servants, loudly call for, or at least to take
“ such measures as may disappoint them hereafter ;
“ for, unless the supreme powers of the nation
“ espouse

“ espouse this cause, the interest of England in
“ foreign parts must sink, wherever the treacherous
“ Dutch can have footing; and it is certain that
“ forts and castles are not only necessary, for se-
“ curing your trade with the natives, but that the
“ publick authority must encourage means to get
“ immediate open satisfaction, either here or at
“ home, on such a people, when gentler means
“ become ineffectual.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
Sept. 1705*.

XX. “ **I** Nclosed is the protest against the Dutch
“ Company, for your loss in the Phoenix
“ sloop, and the men’s certificates of the Dutch-
“ man’s managing of them. If your honours
“ cannot have redress in these things, you must
“ leave off trading in small vessels, for they take
“ a pride in hunting your small vessels about, and
“ commanding your ship-masters on board, to
“ shew the natives on shore, and their own Blacks
“ on board, how they can insult over us. I be-
“ lieve it is worth your honours while to know by
“ what authority they command your captains out
“ of your ships; for, if possible, it should not be,
“ I think.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
Nov. 1, 1705.

XXI. “ **M** R. Nuyts recommends a good
“ friendship, &c. and keeping the
“ natives in order, and immediately breaks
“ through it, and entertains John Cabess, who
P 3 was

* The original is dated Blank, Sept. 1705.

“ was a villainous servant to your honours, and
 “ owes money (though, by the pawns, I believe
 “ your honours will be no losers; but they and
 “ John think otherways.) I think this doing is a
 “ mighty change from his letter, breaking all
 “ friendship, and encouraging the villainous tem-
 “ per of the natives, instead of keeping them in
 “ order. Your honours may see a Dutchman’s
 “ temper; this John Cabefs having cut off the
 “ heads of about half a dozen Dutchmen, and yet
 “ a bulse of gold has attoned for the punishment
 “ due to him, which the late general has often
 “ threatened him with,

“ I am also informed by Mr. Harris, your chief
 “ at Succundee, that the Dutch Copeman has
 “ panyared (or secured) the Cabasheers there, and
 “ made them take fetishes that they would not
 “ come near the castle, nor do us any service;
 “ and they forbear.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated 10 Feb. 1705-6.

XXII. “ **I** Went for Dickies-cove, and when I
 “ arrived there, the Cabasheers of
 “ Dickies-cove told me, that the day before the
 “ Dutch had delivered out arms, powder and am-
 “ munition to all the people of Butteroe, Pam-
 “ paney, and all other places thereabouts, and
 “ had given them orders to destroy all the people
 “ of Taccarado, and murther the white men;
 “ particularly, if they catch me alive, to cut off
 “ my head, and send it to Mr. Nuyts, Copeman
 “ of Mina. I asked them how they could tell
 “ those particulars? They said, they had friends
 “ and relations among them, who had sent them
 “ word of it; and the next day after my arrival,
 “ they told me they had destroyed and burnt the
 “ the

“ town of Taccarado, killed one, and wounded
“ four.”

Ditto.

“ IF your honours do not take it to be your
“ interest to check the Dutch in all their
“ doings, you will quickly find them to root you
“ out in most places. They do not deny their
“ giving the natives money, powder, ammuni-
“ tion, &c. for destroying the people of Tacca-
“ rado, and your people there. They say they
“ may give out what they please to the natives,
“ without breach of peace.”

From Ditto, dated 6 March 1705-6.

XXIII. “ MR. Crabb goes for England by
“ the Broughton, he being so deaf,
“ and having such a noise in his head, as he says,
“ he is not fit for your business: he will acquaint
“ your honours of the Dutch using us at Tacca-
“ rado. They have lately cut down and destroyed
“ a lime-house we built, to preserve your lime in
“ the time of rain; and they make a jest of us to
“ the natives, that we have not time to build, we
“ follow nothing but punch, but that they will
“ build a fort at Taccarado: but whether the
“ natives will permit or no, I cannot tell. They
“ are impudent enough, not only to expose us by
“ talking, &c. but by their actions by sea and
“ land. At sea their cruizers will chace and fire
“ shot at your coasters, and all other your small
“ vessels, though known by them, to bring us
“ to, for them to shew the Blacks and their
“ people how they command us. Captain Green
“ can inform your honours how he had two shot
“ fired at him; and until your honours think

“ convenient to prevent it, by giving directions
 “ to your people to deal with them as they deal
 “ by you ; or that the Dutch company make re-
 “ moval of their chiefs for doing these things,
 “ and pay you and your people for all the da-
 “ mages they receive in body and estates ; for till
 “ then these things will be daily doing.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated 26 March 1706.

XXIV. “ **T**HE Dutch still go on in giving us
 “ all the affronts they can: they
 “ have panyared our goods that were carrying
 “ from Commenda by traders, and they say they
 “ will do it till they give our notes out. I do not
 “ know that your honours are to trade under
 “ them, or by their leave. When our affairs are
 “ a little better settled, I believe I shall venture to
 “ make them an example for it.”

From Mr. William Hicks, dated Cape-Coast-
 Castle, 5 Feb. 1706-7.

XXV. “ **A** Bout negotiating a peace with the
 “ King of Saboo, Sir Dalby Tho-
 “ mas sent him word (it being late) that I should
 “ wait on him the next morning ; upon which he
 “ returns to Morea, a Dutch fort, where he was
 “ entertained by the chief, who told him that I
 “ was only an instrument, set on by Sir Dalby, to
 “ betray him ; and notwithstanding all the fair
 “ promises I gave him, it was not in my power to
 “ perform one tittle : for, to aggravate this mat-
 “ ter the more, he assured the King, if the general
 “ pleased, he could put me in irons too. Thus,
 “ firs, with these terrifying arguments of the
 “ Dutch,

“ Dutch, was my second attempt of settling a
“ peace with these neighbouring Kings overfet.”

From Mr. Seth Grosvenor, at Winnebah, without
date, supposed to be Feb. 1706-7.

Received per Broughton, 19 May 1707.

XXVI. “ I Have been advised, that this country
“ of Anguina was formerly entirely
“ for your honours interest, as by the contract
“ betwixt you and the Queen of this country;
“ but the Dutch, like treacherous undermining
“ people, have encroached, so as to make a set-
“ tlement at a place called Barracoe, where they
“ have erected a small triangular fort of 12 guns.
“ I find them very troublesome neighbours,
“ always incensing the natives against us, to in-
“ terrupt us in our trade. The Dutch chief at
“ Barracoe lately panyared several of your ho-
“ nours goods from traders, which they had
“ bought here of me, telling them he should al-
“ ways continue to do so, if they came to the
“ English to buy goods.
“ I sent a messenger to demand the goods, and
“ to know the reason why he panyared them;
“ but he denied the delivery of them, and told
“ the messenger, it was because they came here
“ to buy them.
“ I have since had a meeting with the said
“ Dutch chief, and made him deliver the goods
“ again to me, which he panyared from the tra-
“ ders: he also promised never to panyar any
“ more of your honours goods, since which he is
“ very civil.”

From

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
15 Feb. 1706-7.

XXVII. “**T**HE Dutch are false and treache-
“ rous, and ever will be under-
“ hand dealers, and destroyers of your trade and
“ people, by all the ways and means they can in-
“ vent. They lately took a Portugueze from un-
“ der your fort at Succundee, that came in for
“ protection, and their cruizer fired several shot
“ at our fort on purpose; and since then they have
“ fired at another, in your road at Winnebah.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated at Cape-Coast-
Castle, 25 April 1707.

XXVIII. “**A** Protest being sent to me from
“ the Mina, to hinder us from
“ having oyfter-shells at Taccardo, near Suc-
“ cundee; and the Copeman of the Mina, who
“ brought it, telling me, that that night his ge-
“ neral or he was to go up to Taccardo, and
“ the people there; and the neighbouring Cabi-
“ sheers having taken fetishes to be true to us,
“ and to stand by one another, and that we should
“ have oyfter-shells there; and your chief of Suc-
“ cundee having informed me, that your people
“ were in great fear of the Dutch, and that, if we
“ did not now stand by them, they should be un-
“ done; and, in consideration of that, and the
“ usual braggs of the Dutch, that we never stood
“ by any black man, and suffered them always to
“ fall into their hands, to be punished for their
“ rebelling against them (as they term it) we have
“ thought it necessary, for your honours interest,
“ to make a stand there against the Dutch; and
“ there-

“ therefore, as soon as the Dutchmen were gone,
“ we ordered Captain Taylor to get himself im-
“ mediately in a readiness for sailing for Succun-
“ dee, and we shipped that night on board him
“ about 100 of your black soldiers.”

Ditto.

“ **T**HE Dutch had two ships at Taccarado
“ before us, so that they made three and
“ we but one, and they had at least three times
“ the number of Blacks we had; yet we made
“ such a stand that they did not dare to affront
“ us; and we brought the Antee people to the
“ terms we desired, and in every thing else had
“ the honour of the day.”

Ditto.

“ **O**N the 22d instant I had advice from Mr.
“ Pearson, your chief at Commenda, and
“ from John Cabess, that the Dutch was drawing
“ the Shumah and Yabbah people, to windward
“ of Commenda, together, and the Mina people,
“ and what other he could get together, to attack
“ John in his croome, and that your chief wanted
“ nothing but corn, and a better gunner, in case
“ they should be blocked up or attacked; upon
“ which we immediately dispatched Mr. Hicks up
“ (Mr. Pearson being weak, and not well in
“ health) with your gunner, and corn in your
“ Pindar's long-boat, and a five-hand canoe, all
“ in arms, and the boat with two patteraroes,
“ lest the Dutch should pretend to stop them as
“ they pass by the Mina, as they have endea-
“ voured to do several of your canoes, and parti-
“ larly one of your large canoes, which I sent
“ armed

“ armed from Succundee for advice and necessa-
 “ ries for us from Cape-Coast-Castle. From the
 “ Mina-Castle they fired three great shot, and
 “ from a ship in the Mina-Road they fired four
 “ more, and sent several small canoes armed after
 “ her; but they, finding that she was armed too,
 “ and your people resolute, they left her.”

Ditto.

“ **I**N two or three days I shall be able to see what
 “ will be the effects of the grand council
 “ which they have called at the Mina, whether
 “ they will agree to follow the villainous design
 “ of their general, or not; for, if he can have his
 “ will, he will, like some of his predecessors, do
 “ his utmost to destroy us; and we do not ques-
 “ tion but that he (like his predecessors who have
 “ made these attempts) will fail in his villainous
 “ design.”

From Sir Dalby Thomas, dated Cape-Coast-Castle,
 15 Jan. 1707-8.

XXIX. “ **T**Accarado is a place of no manner
 “ of trade, and has been tried by
 “ all nations trading thither; yet the present
 “ Dutch general, to shew his mortal hatred to us,
 “ has built a fort of seven or eight guns there,
 “ and settled a Copeman in it, with all other at-
 “ tendances, as in other places, for no other end
 “ or purpose than to hinder us from getting oyfter-
 “ shells.”

From

From Ditto, 28 March 1708.

XXX. “ **B**Y a Portugeze ship that came
“ from Lisbon, I was informed that
“ the King of Portugal had offered to the King
“ of Prussia 40,000 *l.* for his fort at Cape Tres-
“ points, and the two other settlements belonging
“ to it. I think it a great deal of money to be
“ given for any situation on this coast; and I am
“ apt to believe, if it is ever bought by the Por-
“ tugueze, the Dutch will take it from them, for
“ they fear no consequences, can they but gain
“ their point by all the deceitful ways possible.”

From Ditto, 29 July 1708.

XXXI. “ **T**HE Dutch on the River Butteroe,
“ where they have a small fort,
“ near your Dickies-Cove, are (as I am informed)
“ laying out ground for sugar and rum-works,
“ and the general has sent a ship to Whidah to
“ bring up 200 slaves; and they say, that by
“ their next shipping they expect materials for
“ carrying on a sugar-plantation, and sugar-
“ works, &c.”

The contents of the aforesaid 31 articles are (as I humbly apprehend) such manifest and self-evident proofs of the Dutch West-India Company's unalterable designs of supplanting the British interest on the coast of Guinea, as much as they can, through the sides of the Royal African Company, that there seems to be no great occasion, at present, for any farther commentary on this chapter; and therefore I will proceed to the next point proposed.

C H A P. IV.

A farther and more particular account of the situation, state and condition of the Royal African Company's forts, factories and settlements on the coast of Africa, and of several remarkable disasters which have happened to the separate traders on the coasts of Calabar, Angola, and other parts, where the Company have no forts, &c.

FROM what has been already said, in the first part of these Reflections, and particularly in the 3d and 4th chapters thereof, any indifferent person may readily be convinced of not only the necessity of having forts and settlements, for the security and improvement of the trade to Africa, but likewise of the usefulness and moderate estimation therein mentioned, of these which are now in the Company's possession. Yet, since some of the separate traders seem still resolved to impose (as far as they can) their own vain dreams and suggestions upon the nation, at any rate, and have been at abundance of pains to make these forts pass for no other than some few insignificant thatched houses, I shall (I am sure upon much better grounds, and I hope with better success too) endeavour to maintain the contradictory part of that argument, to the conviction of more competent and less biased judges than the separate traders can, from their past conduct and manner of reasoning, be well supposed to be.

I shall begin then with the Gold-Coast, as being that part of the whole coast of Africa to which
the

the generality of all European traders do steer their course, and, for the most part, confine their trade.

I. DICKIES-COVE is a large square fort, situated near the sea-side, having a Brandenburgh fort within two miles to the westward, and a Dutch fort within three miles to the eastward of it: it is built with stone and lime, has two round flankers, and two square bastions, with 12 guns mounted in very good order, and a suitable tank. There are in it commonly 16 white men, and about 14 Gromettoes, who are as good for defence and service as so many white men, and always in the Company's pay.

II. SUCCUNDEE is a four-square fort, situated on a hill, about 50 paces from the sea-side, between two Dutch forts, the one to the westward, the other to the eastward of it; is built with brick and lime, has its guns mounted, and a tank also. There are commonly in it 15 white men and 20 Gromettoes.

III. COMMENDA is a large four-square fort, with three large square flankers and one round; and within this fort is a large four-square tower, all built with stone and lime. It is situated on a level ground, about 50 paces from the sea-side, between two Dutch forts, the one to the westward and the other about half a mile to the eastward of it. It has 24 good guns mounted, and is usually guarded with about 20 white men and 30 Gromettoes, and has a tank likewise.

IV. CAPE-COAST-CASTLE is a very large fort, with four flankers, and a large platform that hath nine pieces of ordnance mounted thereon; the battlements have 10 guns, and the flankers 25, from a minion to nine pounders; and on a rock
2 called

called Tabora, within 20 paces of the castle, there are four 12 pounders more mounted, making in the whole 48 guns, all in good order. It is situated by the sea-side, having the chief fort belonging to the Dutch within nine miles to the westward, and another English fort within a mile to the eastward of it. It is commonly guarded with about 100 white men and 150 Gromettoes, and has two large tanks. In short, this is incomparably the best of all the fortifications, of whatever nation, on the coast of Africa.

V. FORT-ROYAL is a square fort newly rebuilt of brick, and has seven guns mounted on the castle, and 11 on the platform. It is constantly guarded with about six white men and 12 Gromettoes; is seated on the top of a hill, within less than a mile of Cape-Coast-Castle to the eastward, and they are very assisting one to the other.

VI. QUEEN-ANN'S-POINT is a fort lately built of stone and lime, situated on a hill near the sea-side, within less than a mile of Fort-Royal to the westward, and two miles of a Dutch fort to the eastward of it; has five guns mounted, and is commonly guarded with five white men and six Gromettoes.

VII. ANNISHAN is a factory settled by the Royal African Company, between a Dutch fort about three miles to the westward, and an English fort within the like space to the eastward of it, and is of considerable use to the latter, having commonly three white men and 10 Gromettoes in it, with small arms, &c.

VIII. ANNAMABOE is a pretty strong fort, consisting chiefly of two flankers to the sea-side, built of stone, bricks and lime. It is situated on a rock about 20 yards from the water-side, having the said factory of Annishan to the westward, and another

another English factory within a mile to the eastward of it. There are 11 good guns and two patteraroes mounted in it, and is commonly guarded with about 12 white men and 18 Gromettoes, and has a tank also.

IX. AGGA is a profitable factory-house, built of stone and lime, hath usually three white men and 10 Gromettoes in it, with small arms, &c. is situated between Annamaboe-Fort, which is about a mile to the eastward, and Cormanteen-Castle (a fort which the Dutch took from the English in time of the last Dutch war) within three miles to eastward of it.

X. SHIDOE is a profitable factory, situated near mid-way between a Dutch fort to the westward and an English fort to the eastward of it, and makes good returns to Cape-Coast-Castle.

XI. WINNEBAH is a large four-square fort, with four flankers, all built of stone and lime: there are 18 guns in it, is commonly guarded with about 12 white men and 28 Gromettoes, and has a fuitable tank. It is situated about 120 paces from the sea, within three miles of Shidoe to the westward, and 36 miles of Accra to the eastward.

XII. ACCRA is a large four-square castle, with four flankers, built of stone and lime, has 20 good guns mounted, guarded commonly with about 18 white men and 30 Gromettoes, and has a tank also. It is situated upon a rock on the sea-side, between Winnebah to the westward, and a Dutch fort within half a mile to the eastward of it.

XIII. ALAMPOE is a considerable place for buying of slaves: it has been possessed by the Company for several years, having had a factory there, with about five white men and 10 Gromettoes, with small arms, &c. They made some steps

towards building a fort there, but the Dutch interposed with the natives, and has been discontinued for some time; however, I understand they are about resettling it again, &c. It is situated near the sea-side, between Accra and Whidah.

XIV. WHIDAH is a fort about 100 yards square, with four large flankers, all built of mud, having a battery with 21 good guns mounted, and a trench of about 20 feet deep and 18 feet wide round it: it is commonly guarded with about 20 white men and 100 Gromettoes. It is situated about three miles from the water-side, between a Danish fort at Accra to the westward, and two forts belonging to the French and Dutch, within half a mile each of the other, to the eastward of it; and about four miles from Whidah, in the King's town, the Company have a factory-house, a place of very considerable trade.

All the afore-mentioned tanks are made of stone and lime, very strong and well tarraffed: some of them will hold between 4 and 500 tuns of water, and the rest proportionably, to serve the number of men belonging to each fort, with water for one year, and very often serve shipping also.

To each fort belong proper store-houses, with convenient apartments for the aforesaid white men and gromettoes, and houses apart for such slaves as are bought for exportation.

To these forts belong likewise several pinnaces, long-boats and canoes, to attend the necessary occasions of building, repairing, &c. besides other small ships and vessels frequently employed in serving the several settlements, by transporting stores, necessaries, provisions, &c. from one place to another along the coast.

It is observable, that all along the Gold-Coast, the English and Dutch forts and settlements, as they

they are the most numerous, so they are the most contiguous of any other; and these two companies seem to rival one another more than either of them does any other European company, because indeed none of the other companies are of themselves (without some supervenient help) capable to cope with either of the former.

Then, as to the forts on the North-Coast of Africa, it will appear, by the contents of the 108th page of this volume, that

XV. JAMES-FORT, in the River of Gambia (before the French took it, merely by reason of cowardice or negligence, or both, of the then English governor, though the French had a squadron of six ships of force on that expedition) was absolutely the next best fortification to Cape-Coast-Castle, of all the fortifications on either the South or North coasts of Africa; but the Company's circumstances (beside its being a work of time) could not well admit of repairing it as yet, to its former condition: however, with the advantage of its situation, it is now repaired to a state of making a pretty good defence, providing a good man have the charge and command thereof. It is a four-square fort, with four flankers, all built with stone and lime, and has between 40 and 50 very good guns in it, though some of them may possibly, as yet, be not mounted. It is situated on a rock near the middle of that river, and has commonly between 50 and 60 white men, and about 50 Gro-mettoes always in the company's pay, belonging to it; and under its influence there are several factories in the respective branches of that river.

XVI. SHERBROW-FORT, being on an island, has always been known by the name of YORK-ISLAND. That fort was built by the Royal African Company, four-square, having three round

flankers and one square flanker, with 11 guns, and about 20 paces from the fort, on the sea-beach, two large round flankers, with five good guns on each, all built with stone and lime, and guarded usually with about 25 white men and between 50 and 60 Gromettoes, all in the Company's pay. But the Company having, since the Revolution, attacked and taken the French Company's two forts of Goree and Senegal, the French King not only made up that Company's losses, but also sent ships of war, from time to time, to retake these two forts, and to destroy as many as they could of the English Company's settlements; by which means (the English Company not being equally supported from hence) York-Island happened to fare little better than James-Fort in Gambia River, and is not as yet quite repaired to its former condition.

XVII. SIERRA-LEON FORT, being likewise on an island, has been commonly known by the name of BENCE-ISLAND. It was built by the Royal African Company, with stone and lime; it had one round flanker, with five large guns, a curtain-wall, with port-holes and four good guns, and a low platform just without the fort, which had six good guns on it, all of them well mounted, and guarded by 20 white men and 30 Gromettoes. But in July 1704, four French ships, whereof two were ships of great force, having anchored in Frenchman's-Bay, in Sierra-Leon-River, one John Cumberbush, a Mollato, sent his canoe, with his chief slave, to give immediate notice thereof to Messrs. John Freeman and Henry Glynn, the Company's chief and second agents at that fort; whereupon Richard Emberley, mate of the Spy brigantine, in the said Company's service, did propose to ditto Freeman, that, for the greater security,

security, the Company's best effects in the said fort should be put on board the said brigantine, and that he, the said Emberley, would engage to convey them safely into another river, where both the ship and cargo might be in full security, and out of all danger of receiving any damage from the French. There were likewise, at the same time, a small sloop, a long-boat, a petty-anga, and several canoes belonging to the Company, then at the fort, which, together with the said brigantine, were sufficient to have carried off the Company's effects: but ditto Freeman, for reasons which have since that time appeared very obvious, would by no means be persuaded to let any of the Company's goods be carried off the island.

On the day immediately following (being the 3d of July) there appeared in sight of the said fort several large boats full of Frenchmen, with design to make some attempt upon the island; whereupon all the Company's white men and Gromettoes were ordered to their arms, and the gunner of the fort firing sharply upon the boats, drove the enemy to the back part of the island, where they then designed to land; but Capt. Thomas Kearfoot, with his soldiers, meeting them there, and firing upon them with small arms, the enemy rowed clear off from the island; but while the captain and his soldiers were thus employed upon the back part of the island, the governor, ditto Freeman, and his second, ditto Glynn, with several white men who were Freeman's creatures, quitted their posts, and ran away from the fort, without giving the least notice thereof to the said captain. The French lay all that day upon their oars, at a great distance, and having (as is informed) had intelligence by one formerly employed by ditto Freeman, that the white men

(meaning the English) had deserted the fort, they, taking the advantage of that news, came the next day with a stronger force, took the island, carried off the Company's effects, with many of their slaves, and demolished the fort; all which might have been saved, if ditto Freeman and Glynn had, according to their duty, stayed and encouraged the soldiers and others who happened to be there at the time. But as it appears manifestly, by the 6th and 10th articles of the first chapter, how treacherous servants they have been to the Company, in dealing all along clandestinely with the separate traders, selling and disposing of great quantities of the Company's cam-wood, elephants teeth, and other goods, and converting the produce thereof to their own uses: they thought this was a short way of accounting and clearing with the Company; and as they are now most inveterate enemies to the Company, so are they of course among the darling myrmidons of the separate traders.

It is observable, in relation to the forts and powers of European nations on the north coast of Guinea, that the Royal African Company had always the ascendant, and were too hard for the French Company, until the French King interposed with a superior force; which, together with the great discouragements that they meet with at home, and, by means of the separate traders, abroad too, obliges them as yet to truckle, in a great measure, to the French, the Dutch, the separate traders, yea, and their own treacherous servants also, who, at this time, make up a considerable number of the latter: so that indeed the Company can have no hopes of ever raising their heads again, nor of the trade's flourishing, but by some uniform management, under the happy influence

fluence and protection of the Queen and Parliament.

But to return to the Gold-Coast.

To the end that I might not be imposed upon, in my own judgment, nor be any way an instrument of imposing upon the nation, I have made particular enquiry into what might be the estimated charge of building such forts as the Company have there, upon the supposition that no such forts were now existent; and by the joint estimation of several capable persons, who have been some years in the Company's service upon that coast, and are ready (if required) to avouch the same to the Parliament, the following scheme is, by their allowance, offered to publick view.

		Men	Ys	Ms
The building of	[Dickies-Cove	[100	[1	6
	[Succundee	[100	[1	6
	[Commenda	[150	[1	6
	[Cape-Coast-Castle	[500	[7	0
	[Fort-Royal	[100	[1	0
	[Annissham	[50	[0	6
	[Annamaboe	[100	[1	6
	[Agga	[50	[1	0
	[Winnibah	[100	[2	0
	[Accra	[150	[2	0
	[Whidah	[150	[2	0
	[James Fort, Gambia	[250	[2	0
	[Sherbrow-Fort	[100	[1	6

would employ about

for

As to the materials for building, there are to be had in Guinea, oyfter-shells to make lime, though bought of the natives at great rates, as also timber and planks; but out of Europe comes lead, tar-ras, iron-work, provisions, stores, and all other necessaries, as also artificers of all sorts, with working-tools, &c. the continued charge whereof, with that of transport-ships, and the needful recruits of men to supply the places of such considerable

derable numbers as commonly die there, by reason of the contagiousness of the climate, together with the expence of great guns, small arms, ammunition, &c. must needs amount to very great sums of money, far exceeding the 150,000*l.* at which the Company very moderately estimated their present forts and settlements, as the foundation of a new subscription, providing the wisdom of the Parliament think fit now to settle the trade to Africa upon the foot of a constitution suitable to the nature and circumstances thereof.

In making an estimate of the charge of these forts, regard must be had to the having about 600 officers and soldiers for manning them, 200 artificers of all sorts, beside labourers, for keeping them in repair, and four or five vessels constantly on the coast, subservient to the aforesaid ends.

I shall now proceed to give some remarkable instances of the usefulness of these forts to the separate traders themselves, and of several disasters which happened to private traders in places where the Company have no forts.

1. For fortifying, and indeed improving one of the instances which I gave formerly in the 94th page of this volume, I refer the reader to the following affidavit.

MIDDLESEX. **T** Thomas Camp, of the parish of Stepney, alias Stebon-Heath, in the county of Middlesex, aged about 30 years, maketh oath, that in September 1702 he was gunner of the Royal African Company's fort at Whidah, about which time came into the Road of Whidah a 10 per cent. ship, called the Betty of Barbadoes, which, after having got her complement of slaves aboard, to the number of about 300, was there taken by a French ship, of about 40 guns

guns as he believes ; upon which the Company's officers of the said fort sent some men armed to the water-side, which is three miles from the said fort, and seized the French chief and second, and brought them prisoners to the fort, where they were detained until the ship Betty and all her said slaves, cargo and men, were restored to the captain.

And this deponent farther saith, that both the French and Dutch that are settled on that coast have oftentimes endeavoured, by large promises and great encouragements, to entice him and several others from the Company's service, and verily believes that both French and Dutch take all opportunities to lessen the British interest on the coast of Guinea, and would not suffer the English to trade thither, were it not for the Company's forts.

And this deponent farther saith, that the separate traders on the coast, during the time he was there, from 1700 to 1705, did advance the prices of Negroes double what they were, and sunk the prices of English goods very much of the prices they were commonly sold for at his first being upon the coast, and farther saith not.

THO. CAMP.

Jurat, 14 die Februarii, anno

Dom. 1708-9, coram me.

JOHN PERY.

2. In the year 1704-5, Captain Minot, a private trader, being forced a-shore, by stress of weather, about a mile from Winnebah, one of the Company's forts, the governor of that fort went out with his soldiers, and rescued all the slaves, cargo and ship's company out of the hands of the natives,

natives, who had violently seized the same; and he made returns home to England for the use of the owners, which otherwise had been totally lost.

3. In the year 1706, Captain Obrian, a separate trader, being in Winnebah-Road, his Negroes rose upon him, whereof notice being given to the governor of that fort, he immediately sent off some of his garrison, who quelled the Negroes, and thereby saved the ship and cargo.

4. In the year 1704-5 there were 11 fail of ships (whereof five ships belonged to private traders) saved under the protection of Cape-Coast-Castle from several French men of war, which came to that road, with design, it seems, to insult the castle, and seize what ships and goods they could find thereabouts; but by a continual firing from the fort they were forced to go off, re infecta.

5. In the year 1701-2, Captain Lewis, a private trader, was, in time of peace, taken upon the Quaqua Coast, by the Negroes; they came aboard his ship, forced her ashore, plundered all the cargo, and kept some of his men prisoners there for several years. The reason of their having seized and used Captain Lewis's ship after this manner, was because Captain Francis, Captain Gill, and Captain Davies, three separate traders, had some short time before seized, and violently taken several of the chief Negro traders, with their goods, off the coast.

6. Captain Rust, in the ship the Neptune, being forced on shore by a French ship of superior force, at Cape Apollonia, the natives stript him and his men, wounded and otherways barbarously used them, and seized all the ship's cargo, notwithstanding he had traded with the natives themselves the day before, and all this for want of a fort to protect

protect them. There are two persons now here in town who were sufferers in the aforesaid barbarity.

7. Captain Charles Cook, a private trader from Carolina, having gone up the River Gambia too far beyond the immediate influence of the castle, and happening to fall so sick that he was forced to go ashore, leaving the management of the ship to his super-cargo, 14 Negroes (distinguished there by the name of Fidalgoes and Gallawars) came aboard under the pretence of trading. Each of them having a large knife in the sleeve of his coat, they placed themselves so by the English, that upon giving the word (comon, comon) they stabbed and killed all the ship's crew, save only one man and a boy, who jumped overboard, and so saved their lives by swimming. This appears by a letter of the 24th of January 1706-7, to Colonel Gavin Corbin, the Royal African Company's agent in Virginia.

8. Captain Morgan, a private trader from Jamaica, was surprized near the same place, and much after the same manner; as appears by ditto Cook's letter aforementioned.

9. In the year 1701-2, Captain Eterfon and Captain Cook, with several other private traders, were forced ashore on the coast of Angola, for want of a fort to defend them from the enemy; as appears by the report prepared by the Lords Commissioners for trade and plantations, upon the Company's petition to her Majesty the last year.

10. By a letter of the 7th of April 1698, from Captain John Hereford, of the ship Fortune, then at Cabenda, on the Angola Coast, and another letter of the 15th of April 1702, from Captain William

William Read, of the Company's ship the Canterbury, then at Callabar, they charge the separate traders, particularly Captain Cuning, Captain Crow in the Anthony galley, Captain Hazlewood, Abraham Evans in the Humphrey galley of Bristol, one Carnaby in a small ship called the Hunter, and others, not only with unaccountable methods in destroying any hopes of carrying on a regular and safe trade in those parts, unless forts and settlements be established there, but likewise with very gross and barbarous acts of inhumanity, seizing and taking away with them all the Negroes whom they could surprize along the coast, robbing canoes on the water, forcing women, boys and girls along with them from the shore, shooting at boats, and killing such Negroes as refused to answer their call; and that, in revenge, the natives had destroyed several white men, and seized such goods as fell within the reach of their power.

Some few general reflections on the aforesaid particulars.

AFTER that Æsop's wolf had put on sheep's clothing, he remained a wolf still: the changing of names seldom or never alters natural qualities. We see that the generous indulgence and unrestrained liberty and permission which the Parliament thought fit, in the year 1697, to grant to all her Majesty's subjects, indistinctly, to trade to Africa for the term of 13 years, they paying a duty of 10 per cent. to the Royal African Company, falls so far short of answering the chief end proposed thereby, viz. the security, preservation and im-

improvement of that trade, that though the several names of pirates, buccaneers, interlopers, and such like, on the coast of Africa, seem to be of late in a great measure forgotten, as passing all now under the gentle and mild name of separate traders to Africa, yet it seems too many of them have still retained their former qualities, so far that they not only persevered in the ordinary course of their former practices of plundering, stealing, and sometimes killing, but have also been the instruments of infecting others by their evil communication and corrupt examples; for in many cases it so happens, that “a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.” God forbid that all the separate traders should fall under the same predicament; but however it is a dangerous thing to be frequently in bad company.

It is a common, though uncharitable observation (how true I know not) that few women have virtue enough to resist the temptations of opportunity and importunity: I would gladly entertain much more honourable thoughts of the fair sex. However, I am pretty well assured that the Royal African Company have very sensibly felt, to their cost, that opportunity and importunity have made more rogues and thieves than one in their service, these 12 years past. I own that, in all great undertakings of that kind, great trust must be given to many persons of several qualities in their respective stations; and were there a regular society formed and established, with suitable privileges, and a coercive power to do themselves and others justice on the coast of Africa, such a society might very reasonably, in all events, be made answerable for their own and their servants actions; and, in that case, there is no doubt but they would take special
care

care to have servants of whose fidelity they would be very well satisfied. But while the trade of that extensive coast is under a loose and irregular administration, it is not to be expected but that, in so extended and remote a part of the world, where there is no court of law, equity or justice, where no regard is had to the rules of christianity or morality, but every one doing what seemeth good in his own eyes, several persons have, by the aforesaid means, been tempted to prove treacherous to the trust reposed in them, who probably had never had so much as a thought of being so base and unworthy, if other persons of different interests, as well as of vicious lives and principles, had not had an uncontrollable toleration to come there, and had thereby an opportunity of seducing and debauching the former; both by importunity and example, yea, and with an assurance of impunity also, by transporting not only their persons, but likewise such of the Company's effects committed to their trust as they pleased to call their own, and altering the property thereof in such manner that the Company can scarcely ever expect to get any fair or tolerable account of them; and indeed transgressors of that kind (as the like happens in many other cases) do commonly pick German quarrels with the Company, chiefly to be a pretence for not adjusting or clearing with them; yet, to justify one ill act by committing another, such persons seldom fail of becoming the worst of enemies.

I am persuaded few who read this, together with the first part of these Reflections, deliberately, will ever have the least regard to any of these persons clamorous and groundless suggestions against the Company, and much less (I hope) will they

they be for continuing so very valuable a branch of our foreign trade, as that to Africa is, any longer under a loose and irregular administration, in the hands of an undefinable heteroclite body, consisting of such heterogeneous parts as can never give any tolerable account of either their own or other peoples proceedings in that trade; but that the wisdom of the Parliament may now think fit to settle it upon such a fixed and solid constitution as may render it a durable, creditable and advantageous trade to Britain, and the plantations thereunto belonging, is the hearty wish of

PHILO-BRITANNUS.

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

CONSTITUTION

AND

MANAGEMENT

OF THE

Trade to Africa,

THROUGH

The whole Course and Progress thereof, from the Beginning of the last Century, to this Time.

WHEREIN

The Nature and uncommon Circumstances of that TRADE are particularly considered, and all the Arguments urged alternately by the two contending Parties here, touching the different Methods now proposed by them, for carrying on the same to a national Advantage, impartially stated and discussed.

BY ALL WHICH

A clear View is given of such a Constitution, as (if established by Act of Parliament) would, in all Probability, render the AFRICAN Trade a permanent, creditable and advantageous Trade to BRITAIN.

PART III.

*Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.
Horum simplicitas miserabilis, his furor ipse
Dat veniam.*

JUVENAL.

VOL. V.

R

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

CONSTITUTION

AND

MAYAN GEMIN

OF THE

Trade to Africa

THROUGH

The whole Court and several times, from
the beginning of the last century, to this
Time.

W. H. R. L. M.

The Nature and importance of the
Trade and particularly connected, and which
Arguments urged against it, by the
regular British House, to support the
Trade now proposed by them, are carried on
the same to a general advantage, especially
in the West Indies.

BY A. L. R. L. M.

A short View is given of the Constitution as it
originated by Act of Parliament, and as it
exists, under the American Trade and
Navigation and Slave Trade Acts.

P. A. R. T. M.

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London.

R

Vol. V.

P R E F A C E.

WERE it possible to be assured, that all persons to whose hands the several trifling pamphlets and papers, published on behalf of the separate traders to Africa, have or may come, had read and considered the First and Second Parts of these Reflections, it is probable I had not given myself the trouble of writing, nor others that of reading this Third Part; but indeed that being an accident rather to be wished for than depended upon, I think myself in some measure obliged, for the vindication of truth, as well as in self-defence, to publish the following sheets, as a reply to, and, in my humble opinion, a manifest confutation of, all that hitherto has been, or probably ever will be, with any reasonable pretence, urged by any of the pamphleteers for an open trade to Africa, against the certainty of the several positions, considerations and arguments contained in the aforesaid First and Second Parts, for settling that trade upon the foot of an exclusive joint-stock constitution.

Many people have, it seems, entertained a notion (which I find is industriously propagated by the separate traders, with a sinister and injurious design) that the present constitution of the Royal African Company is such a constitution as is there pointed at and pleaded for, or at least that they enjoyed the whole trade, exclusive of all others, till the act of Parliament for laying that trade open in 1698 took place, which is a great mistake; for, as it is certain that the interlopers have been

tolerated ever since the Revolution, so it will appear, by the following sheets, that the exclusion which the said Company enjoyed, for some few years, before that time, did happen to prove rather a snare than any real advantage to them in the end, since their charter was not confirmed by act of Parliament; and yet it is demonstrably apparent, by the contents of the third chapter of this Third Part, that, had it not been for that charter, and the Company's industry, care and application in pursuing the ends thereof, at a very great charge and expence, the trade to Africa had, in all human probability, been long ago irrecoverably lost to this nation, without having had so much as a just notion of the value of what we had lost: so that, by their most successful endeavours, during the short time that they enjoyed the benefit of an exclusion, they have, undeniably, at least laid the foundation of preserving the trade hitherto.

However, when first I set pen to paper, on the subject-matter of these Reflections (which was but some few months ago) I entered my protestation, that what I chiefly aimed at was to give some reasonable and impartial view of such things as, I humbly apprehended, might be conducive towards settling the African trade upon some fixed and solid national constitution, without any direct or immediate regard to the caprice, humour or designs of particular persons, or to the particular dispute between the Royal African Company and separate traders, concerning their several and respective private interests.

Pursuant to which resolution I calculated the last five chapters of the First Part of these Reflections, wherein are contained several plain and concluding arguments, demonstrating the many
national

national advantages of carrying on the trade to Africa by a joint-stock, to be raised upon the foot of an exclusive parliamentary constitution; and all these arguments (though published upwards of two months ago) have hitherto stood the field, without being, in the least, ever attacked by any of the pamphleteers for an open trade.

But in giving an historical account of the progress of the trade to Africa these hundred years past, together with a view of the present state thereof, both abroad and at home, I could not well have omitted the subject-matter of the dispute between the present Company and separate traders, and therefore, to make the work as compleat as I could (according to the best of my understanding) I gave an account of the state of that case, in the second and third chapters of the said First Part of these Reflections, and that too in such a manner as stands as yet unconfuted, though very weakly cavilled at in a late scurrilous libel, entituled "Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet called Reflections, &c." composed chiefly of a confused undigested collection of all the romantick stories formerly published on behalf of the separate traders, and against the Company; for a reply to which, and a full and clear vindication of the said Reflections, the reader is referred to the contents of the first chapter of the following sheets, wherein I own I have shewn too much regard to the Remarker's frivolous amusements, instead of arguments, by answering them so very particularly, paragraph by paragraph.

And that it may be seen how justly I repeat the Remarker's pretended arguments, I have prefixed a capital *R.* to each of them, as I have prefixed a capital *A.* to my own answers, and prefixed also double comma's to such false quotations as he pretends to have excepted out of the Reflections, &c.

In the second chapter, the reader will see the amount of such testimonies and declarations as were given in evidence on behalf of the present African Company and separate traders alternately, before a committee of the honourable House of Commons, with an account of some remarkable occurrences which have contributed very much to the reducement of the Company's stock, &c. And the last chapter consists chiefly of arguments shewing the impracticability of carrying on and preserving the trade to Africa by any other method whatsoever than that of an exclusive joint-stock, together with some proposals for a national parliamentary constitution upon that foot, calculated with due regard to the present circumstances of the Royal African Company, the separate traders, and the plantations, and for the general interest of all her Majesty's subjects.

Now, upon the whole matter, I am very sensible that it is a misfortune to any one to be, either directly or indirectly, concerned in a dispute which obliges him, either in self-defence or otherways, to have recourse to personal altercations or recriminations, and I profess sincerely it is what I would willingly shun, upon all occasions, with all my heart and spirit; but there are some sort of men in the world who cannot be dealt with otherways than by fighting them at their own weapons; and as I have, by degrees, been involved in this dispute far beyond my first intention, so, had I abruptly relinquished it before the Parliament give a decisive stroke in the chief point still controverted, my silence might probably be construed to the prejudice of that side whose part I took, otherways I should scarcely have been at the trouble of taking the Remarker to pieces, as I have done.

R E -

REFLECTIONS

UPON THE

Constitution and Management

OF THE

AFRICAN TRADE, &c.

PART III.

CHAP. I.

A defence of the First Part of these Reflections against some insignificant cavils and invidious suggestions contained in a late scurrilous libel, entituled "Some Remarks on a late Pamphlet called Reflections, &c."

IT is a hard case for any man (especially one moderately disposed) to be driven to the necessity of saying or publishing any thing which may seem to favour either of vanity or ostentation on the one side, or of contumely and

disdain on the other : but since the debate now in hand is for no less prize than the taking proper measures, at so critical a juncture, for the preservation and improvement of so valuable a branch of our foreign trade, as that to Africa is to this kingdom and the plantations thereunto belonging, and since the generality of mankind are at so little pains to render themselves capable judges of what is truly reason, or just and fair reasoning, in most disputed cases which happen, otherways than as they judge of a battle fought in Flanders, that he that keeps the field longest gains the day ; so therefore having, since the publishing of the Second Part of these Reflections, seen a scurrilous libel, entituled “ Some Remarks on a Pamphlet called Reflections, &c.” it would be, in some sense, a betraying of that national cause, which, instead of a better advocate, I have adventured to maintain (and I hope pretty successfully too) in the First and Second Parts of these Reflections, if, by a profound silence, I should seem to acquiesce with the abusive aspersions, delirious apparitions, gross inconsistencies, and fallacious computations, with which this mighty champion for an open trade to Africa has now (probably as his last effort) made a shift to black two sheets of paper, with design (if possible) to impose his own and confederates vain dreams upon the nation ; to prevent which, I will soon divest him of all his false, though gilded armour, and leave him then exposed to the naked view of all indifferent spectators.

The first thing, it seems, which puzzled this champion was, what title to give his mighty work, for, on the title page, he calls it “ Some Remarks, &c.” but, on the top of the next leaf, he calls it “ An Answer, &c.” Now, whether this

this was occasioned through the wandering confusion of his perplexed thoughts, the treachery of his memory, or with a double-faced design, I will allow himself to determine; but to call it "An Answer to the Reflections, &c." he might almost as properly have called it "An Answer to the Jewish Talmud, or the Turkish Alcoran." I am certain "*Fronti nulla fides*" was never more justly applied, than to the difference that is between this libel and the title which the author himself gave it, as "An Answer, &c." However, since this champion's courage has failed him so far, as not to dare to make the least attack upon any one single sentence, line or word of any of all the five last chapters of the First Part of these Reflections (which indeed is by very much the most material and significant part of the book, as I intimated in the preface thereof) but has exhausted all his little stock of ammunition in making remarks only upon some few fragments of these two chapters, in which the particular dispute between the present company and the separate traders, about their several and respective private interests, is specially considered, I shall henceforward distinguish him by the denomination of Remarker only, and refer it to the judicious reader to determine which of us two is the fairest disputant, and most faithful repeater of each other's positions and arguments.

The Remarker, as a specimen of his skill in grammar and rhetorick, ushers in his accurate remarks with this prologue: *R.* As people of business have not the time to throw away as the African Company's writer, so I shall only take notice of, &c.

A. Thanks to good Mr. Remarker, for this implicit acknowledgment, in the first place, that
my

my performance (such as it is) seemed to him to have been done with so much care, consideration and circumspection, that it could not but have been the work of time; whereas his remarks, being only the hasty productions of his own infallible noddle, amidst the great hurry and confusion of his mighty business, we must even take them as we find them: most certainly a very fine piece of work! But alas, some people are such stubborn infidels as not to believe one tittle even of what he says in his title page.

R. The author, in his preface, disowns himself, either a member of the African Company or a separate trader (I suppose he means, to Africa.)

A. Most certainly true

R. And by his writing, it is plain he never was a trader or a man of business.

A. Most certainly a very bad consequence: yea, if the Remarker, or any other for him, can infer that conclusion naturally from the premises, I will instantly give up the cause, and moreover (which would be doing a horrid violence on my own belief) acknowledge that all that he writes is true. But as his business cannot allow him time to trouble his head with the rules of logick and fair reasoning, so it is no business of mine, at present, to confute or gratify him, by giving any positive distinguishing characters of myself.

R. With what assurance then can such a person set up to decide a controversy in opposition to the judgment of the right honourable the lords commissioners of trade? &c.

A. Hey day! what's here? Why truly, a new project of Mr. Remarker's own invention; the word Monopoly has run so in his head of late, that, to out-do all other monopolies whatsoever, he has (it seems) formed a design of establishing a

1

monopoly

monopoly of all reason and common sense. What ! would he have an arbitrary restraint upon the exercise of all our intellectual and sensitive faculties ? Yes, that he would, and confine all manner of knowledge and experience in commercial affairs to the lords commissioners for trade, at least so long as he thinks their opinions may seem to have any tendency against an exclusive constitution of the trade to Africa, and consequently for an unrestrained liberty to himself and his confederates to ramble and scramble along the coast of Africa as they please. Well, of all the fulsome pieces of flattery that ever I heard of, to serve a present turn, this tacit implication of the Remarker's supercilious question, and what he expressly subjoins thereto, seems to deserve the first place ! But, beyond all peradventure, the noble lords and honourable gentlemen of that commission know better things, than to suffer themselves to be wheedled into any untenable opinion, by the empty parasitical insinuations of this trifling Remarker. We know that they are persons of distinguished parts and characters, otherwise certainly they had never been named in such a commission ; yet I suppose the Remarker will not say that any of them is either " a Member of the African Company, or a separate trader to Africa ;" so that, if that bare negative were a good argument to render me incapable of reasoning on the points now in debate, it would certainly import something even against their lordships likewise ; but as it is altogether frivolous, and of a piece with the rest of his arguments, I will only advise him, as a friend, to go back again to school, and learn the propriety of his mother-tongue (if he is an Englishman) and at least some of the common rules of reasoning, before he adventure to appear again in print.

R. But

R. But before I proceed farther, I cannot but take notice of one assertion in page 18 of this pamphlet*.

A. Here the Remarker, to shew us how nimbly he can dance an entry (his Christmas gambols not being as yet quite out of his head) jumps all at once over no less than 17 pages of the folio pamphlet which he pretends to answer. Well jumped Mr. Remarker, and well answered too! However, if the reader thinks not fit to take the Remarker's own word for it, I will be surety for him, that the contents of all these 17 pages are fully answered in the title page of his comprehensive Remarks; yea, it must be considered farther, that he is a man of business, and loves brevity.

R. The writer very unjustly calumniates the lords commissioners of trade, and affirms a most notorious untruth, in these words, "Nor could
" the separate traders rest satisfied till they had
" prompted the commissioners for trade to de-
" mand from the Royal African Company an
" account of the value of their stock, &c." In answer to which, the separate traders never were with any of the lords of trade, nor were any of their persons ever known to their lordships, till a long time after these accounts were demanded, &c.

A. Any one might naturally have thought that, after so supercilious a prologue, the Remarker would not have leaped over full 17 pages, meerly to catch flies with his cob-web remarks; yea, in the very reciting of this fragment of a paragraph of the aforesaid 18th page, he has, as a new proof of his usual ingenuity, filched out the word (here) which ought to be placed immediately after the word (satisfied) and implies that this was an act posterior to several other acts with which the separate

* Vide page 110 of this volume.

parate traders were charged; and indeed, without reading both the preceding and subsequent parts of that 18th page itself, and considering its coherence with the contents of several of the foregoing pages, this fragment must seem but imperfect, and of little importance. However, since he denies the fact, and labours mightily to exculpate all the separate traders from that charge, it is not worth my while to pursue it any farther, though I will reserve the consideration of that particular point, till we come to examine the qualities of those whom he calls separate traders, in a subsequent remark, referring the reader, in the meantime, to the contents of the lords commissioners' own report, and the Royal African Company's general observations and particular remarks thereupon, given in to their lordships in January last.

But alas! the Remarker's real plot, in this and his former paragraph, is covered with too thin a veil not to be easily discovered; for, in the former, he thought to provoke me to enter into a competition of judgments with the lords commissioners for trade: no, he must look for catching woodcocks somewhere else, for my concern in this dispute has not as yet hurried me on into such a degree of confusion or forgetfulness, as not to remember that some of these commissioners are noble Peers, that others of them are worthy members of the honourable House of Commons, and that their lordships sentiments concerning the African trade lies now before the Parliament, who (without doubt) are the most competent judges of that or any thing else of that nature that can come before them. Then, in the latter-recited paragraph, he endeavours, with all the force of his rhetorick, to persuade the aforesaid lords commissioners that I have calumniated their lordships:

I

no,

no, it was never in my temper to calumniate any one, and much less do I intend to begin with persons of their distinguished characters.

R. But as matters of fact are not proved from multitudes of words, but from demonstration, so I shall make the answer to this pamphlet as short as may be.

A. Clear the way, gentlemen! here comes Mr. Remarker's demonstration, viz.

R. The separate traders have not yet had occasion, in this dispute, to retire to sophistry, false quotations of matter of fact, nor Billingsgate reasoning, instead of truth.

A. In the name of mystery, what means the Remarker by this jargon of words? If this be his demonstration, I think it is but reasonable that he should have the credit of being its first inventor. Now I see Euclid was an old doating fellow; he could never have thought of such a demonstration as this: and since it is neither a mathematical nor a physical demonstration, it must in justice be acknowledged to be the true lawful issue of the Remarker's own fertile brain; yea, I begin now to understand something of his meaning by it, either he would indirectly insinuate a vindication of the separate trader's writings from the imputation of sophistry, false quotations and Billingsgate reasoning, or he would have people believe that the First Part of these Reflections, &c. (which he pretends to answer) is full of such agreeable embellishments; but he is wise enough not to discover which of these two he means, for that must be a secret to himself, till he make sure of the publick reward that is due to him for having invented the aforesaid demonstration.

R. But

R. But to proceed; I observe, among other things, this author preaches much of the danger of the Dutch running away with the trade, which was the argument formerly used, while the French were laying the foundation of those evils we now feel in our trade, and every thing else; and if the African Company are not the cause of losing that trade, by their oppressions on the separate traders, the Dutch never can do us any harm, &c.

A. Had the Remarker seen the 3d chapter of the Second Part of these Reflections, before he published this wise observation, and the terrible bug-bearing insinuation therein contained, I have so much charity for him as to think that certainly he would have had the prudence to have kept it to himself, and saved me the trouble of pointing now to a place where he may find more than a sufficient reply to it, by way of prevention. But if he must have my private sentiments upon that head into the bargain, here I give them very freely. The politicks of France, for above a whole century together, aimed at no less than an universal monarchy, that is, an universal power over all the rest of Europe, &c. The chief tendency of all the politicks of Holland, and the other United Provinces, during the aforesaid time, and ever since, has been to grasp at an universal empire in point of trade, which (if obtained) would have a very near relation to an universal power; so that, where the great difference would be in the consequences of either of these two, it is hard to pre-determine. It is undoubtedly Britain's interest, as it is that of all the rest of Europe, to crush the one, and it is as certainly Britain's interest in particular not to give way to the other.

It is the opinion of many wiser heads than mine, and it is mine too, in congruity with their's, that
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it is Britain's interest, especially at this juncture, to be in strict alliance with the Dutch, and as, at the same time, their own interest and common safety obliges them to be in alliance with us, so I hope their alliance and friendship may be always had and preserved at a cheaper rate than that of complimenting them with the most valuable branch of our foreign trade. I own I am not so full of my compliments that way as the Remarker, for I have heard it often said, that even "gold itself may be bought too dear;" and as I ever did, so I ever will, prefer what I think to be the interest of Britain, to that of either the French, Dutch, or any other nation whatsoever, without any regard to the cavilling insinuations of this Remarker or any of his self-designing confederates.

"Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos

"Ducit, & immemores non finit esse sui."

OVID.

R. The aforesaid author asserts, in his introduction, and in his account of the rise of the trade to Africa, "that after 10 years experience of laying open this trade, the nation in general are no gainers thereby, and that the separate traders' computations, given in to the lords commissioners of trade last year, are (as he fancies) confuted by some of his judicious observations."

A. Well, it is no small piece of drudgery to be obliged thus to skip backward and forward after this Remarker, who has as little regard to any method or order as he has to sincerity or the common rules of fair reasoning; and yet it is a greater plague still to be eternally correcting so very uncorrigible a person as he is, in his false quotations, as well as in picking out some fragments only of parti-

particular sentences, here and there, without any regard to the coherent parts, for at this rate nothing can escape being converted into nonsense, at the pleasure of any such critick as this Remarker is; which puts me in mind of a silly and ridiculous, as well as atheistical argument, used once by as great a libertine in matters of religion as the Remarker would be in matters of trade, to prove (*absit blasphemia*) that there was no God. This atheistical person would needs prove it, forsooth, by a fragment of a certain sentence out of the first verse of the 14th Psalm, viz. "There is no God," never mentioning the immediate preceding part of the same verse, viz. "The fool hath said in his heart," which being prefixed to the aforesaid fragment, makes it run in the excellent musical strain of the holy pen-man who wrote it thus, "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God." I shall be far from saying that the Remarker is any way the fool meant here by the Psalmist; but I will allow him to continue, in Solomon's sense, as wise in his own conceit as he thinks fit. I own that this may seem to be somewhat too lofty a comparison; but it is as true that "*omne simile est dissimile*."

Now the awkward dress in which the Remarker has patched together the fragments aforementioned, to answer his own distorted meaning (tho' little to his purpose) and his disingenuity in distinguishing the same by Italick letters, to make it pass for a fair quotation, will be best seen by comparing it with the original, which is too long, and indeed needless to be here recited.

R. In answer to which, those computations are since confirmed by such accounts as are come from the plantations, and proves, that the opening the trade hath been an annual benefit to the nation of

hundred thousand pounds, by the vast difference of the increase, since the act for opening the said trade, compared with the time of its being confined to a company when exclusive of all others, as will appear by and by.

A. That this answer is a meer fictitious dream, in all the parts thereof, will appear much sooner than the Remarker's by and by, and that is, by a clear demonstration which the reader will find in the 3d chapter of this Third Part of the Reflections; and I will assure the Remarker, in the mean time, that I have not stole any part of the said demonstration out of his singular demonstration already recited, for I am not so covetous as to incroach upon what I think is any part of another man's property; and if he and his confederates were of the same temper, it is probable there had been no occasion for this dispute.

R. As to his offer, "Whether it is not for the nation's interest to carry on the trade by excluding the separate traders, and commit the charge to a collective society of his intelligent people."

A. Here is a further instance of the Remarker's distorted method of reciting quotations, for in the 3d page of the introduction formerly mentioned*, I stated the main question in debate expressly thus, "Whether, as we are now circumstanced with relation to our foreign competitors on the coast of Africa, it may be thought more adviseable, for the nation's interest and advantage, to carry on that trade by a collective society of capable and intelligent men, having one and the same joint-stock, interest, designs, and uniform rules of government and management, with exclusive privileges,

* Vide page 81 of this volume.

“leges, &c. or by all such persons, indistinctly,
 “as have a mind to trade thither, when and how
 “they please, with separate stocks, divided inte-
 “rests, and different designs and rules of ma-
 “nagement?” But how faithfully the Remarker
 repeated it again, the reader may easily judge, by
 comparing this with the immediate preceding pa-
 ragraph, as he recites it. I plodded on, in my
 dull way, and wrote six full chapters on all the
 several heads relating to the trade to Africa, with
 all the small stock of reasoning that I am master of,
 and then resumed the same question again in the
 35th page of the First Part of these Reflections*,
 before I adventured to give any positive answer to
 that question. However, the Remarker (it seems)
 thinks it all lost time that has been bestowed in
 writing any thing touching the nature and circum-
 stances of the trade, or the constitutions of foreign
 companies, or the examples of other nations, or
 any arguments founded upon the principles of
 common reason; for he takes not the least notice
 of any of these, but very briefly, he being a man
 of business, and loving dispatch, gives the fol-
 lowing most pertinent, discreet, and comprehen-
 sive answer; an answer truly worthy of the pen-
 man thereof!

R. In answer, it is demanded whether it is rea-
 sonable to shut up all the linnen-draper's shops
 between Aldgate and Temple-Bar, and commit
 the charge of that trade to one person only; or
 safe to exclude 200 skilful merchants of Great-
 Britain and the Plantations, of good credit and
 reputation, well acquainted with this abstruse
 trade, the most beneficial of all others to the na-
 tion, and commit the charge thereof to a company
 exclusive (provided they are not bankrupts) and

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but

* Vide page 145 of this volume.

but four of whose 24 managers are usually merchants; the other collective intelligent persons, as the author terms them, know not one word of trade, commerce, or any other business than what is practised in Exchange-alley.

A. I never heard that it was allowable, by the rules of fair reasoning, to answer one question by putting another, "*retorquere non est respondere.*" There ought first to be a direct answer given to the question first stated, and then retort and welcome: but the Remarker scorning (it seems) to subject himself to such childish rules as are usually taught to boys at school, answers the question first stated by putting three other questions (very pertinent ones no doubt) all in one breath, as they are recited in the preceding paragraph. This way of reasoning, I confess, is new to me; however, since I am willing to learn of so great a master as the Remarker is, I hope he will allow me to follow his own worthy example in some measure; and, upon the supposition that he will agree to that preliminary, I will adventure to answer his three puzzling questions, thus:

1. Pray what affinity has the linnen-draper's shops between Aldgate and Temple-Bar to the nature and uncommon circumstances of the trade on the coast of Africa? Have the French, Dutch, Danes, Brandenburgers and Portugeeze any forts and castles between Aldgate and Temple-Bar? Are all, or any of the linnen-draper's within the aforesaid limits, in any danger or fear of having their shops plundered, their throats cut, &c. by any of the aforesaid nations, or their several barbarous allies, the natives of Africa, without the hopes of having justice done upon the criminals for the want of proper courts of judicature within the whole kingdom? and are they obliged
to

to maintain constant garrisons and standing forces, to prevent their being surprized every day and night in the year? Well, it is a happy thing to have a singular talent in stating parallel cases! and I must own the Remarker is so very lucky that way, that it is pity he should have the bad fortune to be always misunderstood by his dull readers.

2. Pray how many of the Remarker's "200 skilful merchants of Great-Britain and the Plantations, of good credit and reputation, well acquainted with this abstruse trade," have signed the separate traders petition to the honourable House of Commons? I am afraid they will be all comprehended (such as they are) within the number 26, otherwise the copy which I saw of their petition was not a true one. Now I must beg the Remarker's leave to look a little back, and put him in mind of the apology which he made in his first remark on page 18, viz. "The separate traders never were with any of the lords of trade, nor were any of their persons ever known to their lordships, till a long time after those accounts were demanded, and given in from the African Company," which, by the by, was but about 15 months ago at most. What, none of the persons of these 200 skilful merchants, of good credit and reputation, and well acquainted with this abstruse trade, ever known to the lords commissioners for trade before the aforesaid time! Pray, Mr. Remarker, let me advise you to keep that as a secret, let it be buried in oblivion, and never so much as once whispered again from this time forward, lest it should happen to come to the ears of some malicious person or other, who might be apt to make several impertinent inferences, and say, among other things, that they must all then be but a pack of very obscure "What d'ye Call'ums."

Yet, as there is no general rule without an exception, I can assure you, Mr. Remarker, for your comfort, that I can name two very honest and worthy gentlemen who have traded to Africa, separately, for some years past; and you know, honesty is so scarce a commodity in this wicked age, especially in your way of open trading to Africa (if the contents of the Second Part of these Reflections be true) that we ought to put a great value upon it wherever we find it.

As to the Remarker's 3d question, I am so much in love with it that I must repeat it over again, viz. *R.* Whether it is reasonable to commit the charge of this abstruse trade to a company exclusive (provided they are not bankrupts) and but four of whose 24 managers are usually merchants, the other collective intelligent persons, as the author terms them, know not one word of trade, commerce, or any other business than what is practised in Exchange-alley.

A. Since the Remarker has (it seems) suffered the transports of his fury and passion to get so far the ascendant over all his reasonable faculties, as to indulge the licentiousness of his pen to the most extravagant degree imaginable, in the generality of all his assertions, it is no wonder if, instead of solid arguments to maintain these, he recurs now to calumny, slander and detraction, as the last refuge of all such disputants.

But to shew with how little regard to the common rules of decency, good manners, sincerity or truth, he has presumptuously endeavoured to traduce the characters of such worthy gentlemen as the present managers of the Royal African Company, in general terms, meerly with design to answer his own indirect purposes at this juncture, I cannot forbear publishing to the world the
several

several names and designations of all the present members of the Court of Assistants of the aforesaid Company, together with some few hints of their respective characters, as merchants and men of business ; and if, in so doing, I may happen to commit any mistake (since, upon my veracity, I do it without their privity or consent) I hope the innocence and justice of my intention may, in some measure, plead my excuse : and I will assure the Remarker, before-hand, that they are not such obscure persons as he makes his 200 skilful merchants (the separate traders) to be, when he apologizes for them, in saying, “ That none of their persons were ever known to the lords commissioners of trade, &c.”

Nota, By the by, the Royal African Company's proper motto is

“ Regio floret patrocínio commercium, commercioq; regnum.”

Which may be rendered into English thus,

“ As a kingdom flourisheth by trade, so trade flourisheth by having the countenance and protection of the Royal Sovereign.”

King Charles II. as a mark of his royal favour and particular regard to the advancement of the African trade, bestowed upon the company of adventurers the denomination of the ROYAL AFRICAN COMPANY OF ENGLAND. There seems to be something of magnificence even in the very title itself, and ought to carry respect along with it ; yea, still the more, when it is considered that, to bear up the dignity of that title, the company, since their first establishment, never, to this hour,

had any other than royal persons as their governors.

Upon their first establishment, in 1672, they chose the Duke of York to be their governor, who continued to be so, from year to year, even after his accession to the throne. After the abdication of King James, they chose King William as their governor. Upon King William's death, his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark succeeded, and, since his Royal Highness's death, the general court of adventurers chose the Queen's most excellent Majesty (whom God long preserve) to succeed as governor for this year, and, I hope, shall continue so to be for many succeeding years yet to come.

Now, as to the gentlemen of the court of assistants, whom the Remarker points at, under the general name of managers, in his foul-mouth'd insinuations.

Sir William Withers, knight and alderman, is sub-governor of the company; he is well known to be a very eminent merchant, was lord-mayor of the city of London last year, and is now a member of the honourable House of Commons.

Thomas Pindar, Esq; deputy-governor, is also a merchant, in the constant practice of all matters relating to foreign and domestick trade, ever since he was a youth of about 15 or 16 years of age.

Note, That though these two gentlemen had served out the ordinary time allowed by the company's by-laws, as sub-governor and deputy-governor of the company, yet, by a special act of the general court of adventurers, they are continued in the same stations for this year likewise, in consideration of their eminent services to the company, as well as of their great knowledge and experience in all matters relating to the African trade,

trade ; and the low circumstances of the company, both before and during the time of their administration, made their care so much the more needful.

Sir Jonathan Andrews, knight, is known to be a person singularly well versed in the knowledge of all matters relating to shipping and navigation, and to the African trade in general, was for many years employed in the East-India trade abroad, has been, for several years since, a manager of that and the African trade at home, and is, at this time, a manager of the united East-India trade likewise.

Sir Thomas Cooke, knight and alderman. His character and singular skill in all matters relating to trade and business has been long since very obvious to this and several other nations ; and he is a manager of the united East-India trade likewise.

John Cooke, Esq; is son to the aforesaid Sir Thomas Cooke, was bred a merchant in Spain, and is now a manager of the united East-India trade likewise.

John Cutting, Esq; was bred a merchant in Italy, and is very well versed in all matters relating to accounts and merchandizing.

Sir Francis Dashwood, knight and baronet, is known to be a person well educated, and always conversant in business as a merchant ; he is likewise a manager of the East-India trade, and is now a member of the honourable House of Commons.

Sir William Fazakerley, knight, is publicly known to be a person well educated and versed in business, and particularly in the knowledge and experience of buying all sorts of goods proper for the African trade, and is present chamberlain of
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the city of London, which is known to be a place of great trust and credit.

Mr. James Gohier was bred a merchant, and is particularly well versed in the West-India trade.

Sir William Humphreys, knight and alderman, is known to be well versed, all his days, both in foreign and domestick business.

Urban Hall, Esq; was bred a merchant, has been in the practice of merchandizing all his days; he lived some years abroad, has been many years a manager of the African trade, and has particular experience of what may concern the improvement thereof, in all the several branches of the same, and is a manager of the united East-India trade likewise.

Joseph Jory, Esq; was bred a merchant in the West-Indies, a considerable planter, and for many years a manager of the African trade, insomuch that he is known to be well versed in most of all the branches of that valuable trade.

John Morgan, Esq; a merchant from his infancy, is well known to be a man of great business in trade, and particularly well versed in all matters relating to the African trade, as being many years a manager thereof.

Arthur Moor, Esq; is a gentleman well known to be, for many years, versed in variety of business of great consequence, is a manager of the united East-India trade likewise, and a member of the honourable House of Commons.

John Nicolson, Esq; well known to be a man of eminent skill in all matters relating to shipping and navigation, was several years employed in the East-India trade abroad, and has been since a manager of the African trade for many years.

Mr.

Mr. Steven Pendarves is a gentleman known to be well versed in business, and is a present manager of the East-India trade likewise.

Mr. Philip Shephard was conversant in business from his infancy, and is well versed in the knowledge and experience of buying all sorts of goods proper for the African trade.

Mr. William Mason has been always a man of very considerable business, and was lately high sheriff of the county of Surrey.

William Lancaster, Esq; is a gentleman of approved capacity, industry and integrity, known to be always conversant in business of considerable consequence, and is a manager of the East-India trade likewise.

Thomas Lake, Esq; is a counsellor at law, has been many years a member of the Royal African Company; his liberal education and great industry has rendered him very knowing in all manner of business, and has served in several other publick capacities of great trust.

Sir James Grey, baronet, is a gentleman publickly known to be conversant in business of very considerable consequence, both for himself and others, in the cities of London and Westminster, &c. for many years together, and is a manager of the East-India trade also.

Mr. William Elliot is likewise well known to be a man of very considerable business, for many years together, as he is still to this hour, and the entireness of his character and reputation is very well known both in South and North-Britain.

Mr. John Campbell is a person whose character runs, as near as may be, parallel with that of Mr. Elliot above-named.

Note. These three gentlemen, Grey, Elliot and Campbell, are natives of Scotland, which shews that,

that, in the election of persons fitly qualified for being members of the court of assistants of the Royal African Company, there is no distinction made with regard to the natives of any part of the united kingdom; and these three persons are known to have acquired considerable fortunes, chiefly by their own industry, capacity, and application to business, which is no great argument (as the Remarker would insinuate) that they are strangers to all manner of business.

Sir John Germain, baronet, is a gentleman of a considerable fortune, deeply concerned in the joint-stock of the company (as all the former are) and is known to have a great acquaintance and interest with the principal adventurers in the stock, and also with many persons of the greatest rank and quality in the kingdom; and his acquisitions do sufficiently denote his capacity for business.

John Duncomb, Esq; is a gentleman well known to be conversant in publick and private business of great consequence for many years together.

James Blake, Esq; is a gentleman of a good fortune, deeply concerned in the joint-stock of the company, and is known to have a considerable acquaintance and interest with the principal adventurers in the joint-stock of the company, as well as with many persons of the greatest rank and quality, which, together with his liberal education, has sufficiently qualified him for having a general knowledge in any business.

Note, That considering there are many persons of several degrees, and of both sexes, concerned in the joint-stock of the company, it was thought always reasonable that the administration thereof should not be wholly confined to the management of merchants only, and therefore the general court
of

of adventurers thought fit, from time to time, to have a mixture of some other gentlemen of known parts and capacities, to be sharers in the administration, for the more general satisfaction of all concerned; and as the reasonableness thereof may sufficiently appear from the contents of page 140, 141, and 142, of this volume, so we have the authority of that great master of trade, in all the speculative and practical parts thereof, Sir Josiah Child, for it, that any society of trade, consisting of a mixture of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, is much more likely to answer the ends of an united and joint management, in matters of trade, than if it consisted of merchants only.

By this time, I hope, the reader may be fully satisfied as to the Remarker's disingenuity in that scandalous general character under which he would have the managers of the Royal African Company to pass, in the opinions of the ignorant and most undiscerning part of mankind, and of such others as have not had occasion to be particularly acquainted with either the persons or characters of these worthy gentlemen above-named.

Now, since I have endeavoured to gratify the Remarker's humour, by exposing the names and characters of the aforesaid 26 members of the court of assistants of the Royal African Company (whom he calls 24 managers) I hope I may claim the privilege of asking him three modest questions, viz.

1. Will the Remarker be pleased to distinguish the names of such of these 26 gentlemen as he thinks are bankrupts?

2. Will he likewise be pleased to distinguish the names of such of them as know not one word of trade, commerce, or any other business than what is practised in Exchange-alley? (which is his
learned

learned allegorical phrase for what he and others commonly call stock-jobbing.) And,

3. Will he be pleased to subjoin his own name and designation, as owning himself to be the worthy author of those characters which he so liberally bestowed upon them, in his discreet question aforementioned? No; I suppose he will not be covetous of having the honour to be exalted above the rest of the people near Exchange-alley; but if he adventure to try the experiment, I hereby engage to subjoin my name to this and the two former parts of these Reflections.

But to return from this seeming digression, I take it for granted that any intelligent and disinterested person whatsoever will, upon due consideration of the reasons formerly given in the First Part of these Reflections, allow that the trade to Africa may be carried on, under one uniform and regular management, to much better purposes, in all respects whatsoever, than can possibly be done by any confused number of persons, having divided interests and designs, as well as different and interfering rules of management; and this is that which I have, all along, undertaken to prove, by many concurring arguments, founded upon the uncommon nature and circumstances of the trade to Africa, the common principles of reason, the experience of all ages, and the political topicks and universal practice of all other European nations: all which arguments the Remarker has thought fit (for brevity's sake) to pass over in silence, without so much as attempting to answer any one of them, otherwise than by raising a confused and unintelligible clamour and noise concerning the private dispute between the present company and separate traders to Africa only, which,

which, in my humble opinion, is a very imperfect and preposterous way of informing either house of parliament, in order to settle a national constitution suitable to the singular nature and uncommon circumstances of that trade.

Yet however, since, in pursuing my main design, I have obliquely concerned myself in that private dispute also, as being fully convinced that the company have been extremely injured in that matter, I will proceed (according to my conception of things) to consider the merits of that dispute, in all the parts thereof.

It is certain that contraries appear best by stating them opposite one to the other; and therefore, since the Remarker is pleased to distinguish the separate traders by such advantageous general characters, as that of "skilful merchants of good credit and reputation, well acquainted with this abstruse trade, &c." it is but fair and equal that the names of all the 27 merchants, separate traders, from the port of London to the coast of Africa (as they call themselves) who signed the petition lately given in to the honourable House of Commons, be likewise inserted here, to the end that the reader may be the better able to compare their several qualities, qualifications and characters (even jointly considered, though their measures be separate) with that of the 26 gentlemen, managers of the Royal African Company, afore-named, and form a judgment accordingly.

The names of the aforesaid petitioning separate traders are :

Thomas Taylor
John Lodington
Nicholas Goodwin
Benjamin Henshaws

George Kelthorpe
Robert Brooke
Edward Jeffreys
John Browne

Peregrine

Peregrine Browne	William Lone
John Burridge, jun.	Thomas Lloyd
Humphrey Morris	Charles Kent
JAMES WAYTE	Richard Harris
Abraham Houlditch	Isaac Millner
John Godman	Thomas Smith
John Radbourne	Peter Paggen
Benjamin Hatley	Joseph Martin
Benjamin Bradley	Joseph Smith.
Cornelius Dean	

For aught I can tell, of my own proper knowledge, all these may be very honest and capable gentlemen; but the truth is, I never spoke with any of them in the whole course of my life, and I should be loth to give such particular characters of any man (especially in a publick manner, and upon the bare information of others) as I have heard of some of them; only thus far I will freely adventure to say, that (it seems) some of them have a greater liking to the African trade, than to the callings to which (as I am informed) they have been bred; and I have good ground to believe, that, upon enquiry, it will be found that some of them never made any entries of goods (at least in their own names) for the coast of Africa, and are brought in, for company's sake, meerly to join in the chorus against the company, as other petitions have been industriously procured (for the sake of clamour only) from places and persons who never traded to Africa since the beginning of the last century (whatever they did formerly) nor in all probability ever will, in our days. However, since I know that clamour makes no small part of the Remarker's arguments, I will not rob him of any part of that too frequently successful ingredient, but refer it to himself to print the names of

of these petitioning 27 separate traders, and of the rest of his 200 skilful merchants, with such particular designations and respective distinguishing characters as he thinks they deserve; for the truth is, I am not a fit person to give characters of them, because there are some, even of the aforesaid 27 petitioning separate traders, of whom I have as yet got no manner of account, either good or bad, though I have made some enquiry; only let the Remarker take this short memorandum along with him, as a position to be demonstrated in the 3d chapter of this Third Part of these Reflections, viz. That whatever knowledge and skill the aforesaid separate traders, yea, or any of the rest of her Majesty's subjects have, or can justly pretend to have, of the true nature and circumstances of the trade to Africa, the same is chiefly, if not wholly, owing to the sole industry, care and sedulous application of the Royal African Company, and those whom they employed in the several qualities of generals, chiefs, agents, factors, correspondents, masters and navigators of ships, super-cargoes, chirurgeons, secretaries, clerks, accountants, book-keepers, cashiers, store and warehouse-keepers, &c. either abroad or at home. And by what I can learn, few or none of these proved ever treacherous to the several and respective trusts reposed in them by the company, before infractions were made upon the privileges of the company's charter; but then indeed the private traders came to have too tempting an opportunity of seducing the company's servants, as being the most effectual method they could think of, to ruin the company and compass their own private ends, which (to me at least) seems to be a very unnatural kind of conspiracy against a com-

pany, who (I am fully convinced) have been both the founders and preservers of that trade to the nation.

R. In his chapter of the progress of the trade to Africa, he sufficiently owns the continual inclinations of the nation for an open trade.

A. In that chapter I have (as I humbly apprehend) demonstrated that the impracticability of carrying on and preserving the trade to Africa, in an open method, was always the occasion of establishing companies, from time to time, with exclusive privileges, by charters under the great seal of England, and that, whenever infractions were made upon these privileges, the trade fell always of course into disorders, and often came to be quite relinquished, till some exclusive joint-stock company was again established, according to the constant practice of all other European nations.

R. And 'tis well known, the means of obtaining the patent for an exclusive trade were very indirect, &c.

A. It is well known that the Remarker and his confederates have often endeavoured to amuse the heedless multitude with invidious and scandalous suggestions of this kind, and it is as well known that they could never, to this hour, condescend upon, and much less prove, "in Græcas calendas," any one single indirect step taken for obtaining the Royal African Company's patent: but if people will suffer themselves to be imposed upon, by such ridiculous suggestions as these, instead of solid arguments, "qui vult decipi decipiatur."

R. He urges that the company's exports in peace, when they were exclusive, were 70,000 *l.* value, which is much doubted.

A. No

A. No doubt, the Remarker thinks that his own affected doubting of the company's having made any such exports as 70,000*l.* per ann. ought to pass for a sufficient confutation of that, and all other points of fact urged in favour of the company, in the 6th page of the First Part of these Reflections *, though he flurs all the rest over in silence, and, according to his notable way of distorting the meaning of things for his own purpose, must needs add this qualification to what I urged, viz. "When they (the company) were exclusive, in time of peace," and from thence would insinuate what he and his confederates have often endeavoured to inculcate elsewhere, viz. That the company enjoyed the benefit of their exclusive privileges in time of war too, till the act of parliament, 1697, though it is certain that they have not been exclusive, at any time, since the Revolution. And indeed, by the natural course of that trade, if it were upon the foot of an exclusive constitution, I see no material reason why our exports to Africa may not at all times be regulated, chiefly by the demand that shall happen to be for European goods on that coast, and for Negroes in the Western Plantations, without any immediate regard to peace or war in Europe, because the difference of freight and insurance (if that were all) ought rather to be an argument for augmenting our exports in time of war.

But to let the world see with how little reason the Remarker seems to doubt of the reality of these exports, urged to have been made by the Royal African Company, constantly, while they had the trade exclusive, here are subjoined the particular yearly exports made by them for nine years together successively, and immediately pre-

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* Vide page 88 of this volume.

ceding the Revolution (exclusive of any other ships which traded then by the company's permission) viz.

		£.	s.	d.
	[1680]	46347	13	8
	[1681]	75188	15	11
	[1682]	89616	18	9
	[1683]	78028	18	0
In anno	[1684]	54932	11	7
	[1685]	82346	0	1
	[1686]	66128	12	3
	[1687]	77695	11	3
	[1688]	65171	2	5
Total		635456	3	11

which, in an average, makes more than 70,000*l.* per ann. and shews that the company's computations are not (as these made by the separate traders are always) made at random, but are still within compass.

It is to be remembered likewise, that these goods were sold to a great advance, about cent. per cent. and that the best of Negro slaves cost then but about 3*l.* per head, or 3*l.* 10*s.* at most, and other African produce, such as gold, &c. proportionably, which made the returns then incomparably more considerable than they have been ever since.

R. But if true, it appears, by an account of the 10 per cent. duty given in to the commissioners of trade to Africa, that the exports since the trade was laid open were 160,000*l.* value per ann. for two years in peace, and since the war near 70,000*l.* value per ann. in an average, which sufficiently confirms the benefit of laying open this trade,

trade, as to the exportation of British manufactures.

A. By the immediate preceding section, it is evident that the Remarker's (but if true) might have been saved till some further occasion. What he would have us understand by "the commissioners of trade to Africa," is, I must own, beyond the reach of my dull comprehension; surely he would not have the power of the lords commissioners for trade limited to the cognizance of such matters as relate to the trade to Africa only! I always understood (and I still believe it is so) that their lordships commission was so extensive as to entitle them to take cognizance of all matters relating to trade and plantations in general; but if the Remarker please to explain his meaning, I will willingly be informed, and acknowledge any mistake that he can fix upon me.

Then, as to his account of exports, I remember that, in several places, he seems to value himself extremely upon his admirable skill in numbers, and I must do him so much justice as to acknowledge that he exercises his talent that way, especially in addition and multiplication, to as much advantage as any man whatever can well do, when he thinks it may tend to the advancement of his cause; but that he magnifies the exports, and makes a vain brag of profit, when the contrary is too melancholy a truth, shall be clearly demonstrated when I come to consider his gross computations upon those heads.

R. It is urged likewise, as an instance of the benefit of this trade, that, when the company were exclusive, they flourished, and made many dividends (*hinc illæ lachrymæ*) which is feared to be true, or else they had not been in such a condition as they are in at present.

A. Well! one may as reasonably hope to wash a Negro white, as to reclaim this Remarker from the incorrigible habit that he has got of making false quotations, and giving wrong turns to the real and plain meaning of things, merely to answer his own distorted purposes. Here he would have the reader understand, that the lowness of the company's present condition is occasioned by their having made large dividends of their capital stock, whereas the real occasion thereof is of a quite contrary nature, as has been already, and shall be further clearly demonstrated. But after having, in the 88th page of this volume, enumerated many special advantages which the industry, care and application of the Royal African Company had produced to the nation, during the time that the trade was carried on by an exclusive constitution, the substance of that whole section is resumed again expressly in these general terms, "And in effect they managed matters so as that, for several years together, that trade did not only produce an annual dividend of certain profits to all the particular adventurers in the joint-stock, beside a multiplication of their capital, but likewise several other publick and national advantages to the whole kingdom, and the British plantations in general." And de facto it was so; for it will still appear, by the company's books, that, over-and-above the said dividends, they had improved their capital stock to several hundreds per cent. and would probably have continued to have made a proportional improvement still, if an inundation of interlopers had not broke in upon their privileges, soon after the Revolution, &c.

R. As to his complaint of the separate traders lessening the company's credit, what credit can a man have? &c.

A. Here

A. Here the Remarker, once in his life-time, has the modesty not to deny the fact, as being indeed too palpably known, and particularly vouched, by innumerable instances, in the Second Part of these Reflections, but, according to his ordinary method, endeavours to shift it with one of his usual supercilious questions, which, to shew his wisdom, he states by way of a parable, wherein he very liberally compliments the gentlemen of the company, under the cloak of his distorted parable, with the agreeable epithet of knave, bankrupt, &c. These are the rhetorical flowers with which this Remarker thinks fit to embellish his judicious parables, which puts me in mind of Solomon's saying, "The legs of the lame are not equal; so is a parable in the mouth of fools*." And truly, in my humble opinion, the company may very justly complain in the words of the same wise man, "Wrath is cruel, and anger is outrageous; but who is able to stand before envy†?" The company's credit, reputation, and success in their undertakings, were indeed envied, while they had the trade exclusive, and I need not repeat here the grounds and occasion of their present low circumstances, that being already made sufficiently evident elsewhere.

R. In his progress of the trade to Africa, the author taxes many separate traders with repenting that they ever traded to Africa, and of divers abuses committed by them on the coast. But his ignorance appears in nothing more than in the first of these two assertions, because none of the separate traders, that have continued the trade, have reason to repent, but are able to pay their just debts, without coming a-begging to have their

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* Prov. 26, 7.

† Prov. 27, 4.

neighbours thrown out of their employment, that they may be set up again in their room.

A. By the Custom-house entries it appears, that the number of persons who traded separately to Africa, from year to year, since the commencement of the act of parliament, 1697, to this year, are as followeth, viz.

Years.						Numbers of Traders.
1698	—	—	—	—	—	16
1699	—	—	—	—	—	145
1700	—	—	—	—	—	144
1701	—	—	—	—	—	143
1702	—	—	—	—	—	84
1703	—	—	—	—	—	71
1704	—	—	—	—	—	54
1705	—	—	—	—	—	48
1706	—	—	—	—	—	40
1707	—	—	—	—	—	37
1708	—	—	—	—	—	27

It appears likewise, that some who traded the first year discontinued the second, though others came then in; that some who traded the second year discontinued the third; and so they succeeded and discontinued progressively, from year to year, till that, of between 4 and 500 several persons who traded separately to the coast of Africa, since the commencement of the aforesaid act, there are but 27 who have made any entries thither in the year 1708. So, whether my ignorance, or the Remarker's disingenuity, in relation to this point of fact, "that many separate traders repented their having ever traded to Africa," be most apparent, the reader is, by this time, pretty able to judge. But indeed his (BECAUSE) is such a surprising one, as is only peculiar to the Remarker's own

own singular method of reasoning, viz. "None of the (27) separate traders, that have continued the trade, have (as he says) reason to repent;" therefore none of the 400 and odd persons, who have relinquished it, have any reason to repent that they ever traded to Africa. This is one of the Remarker's natural consequences. Well, I will vow it is no small piece of penance to any one to be obliged to read, and much more to answer, such a rhapsody of incoherent stuff as these remarks that I am thus taking to pieces.

However, I cannot but observe here, that as no more than 27 separate traders have made entries at the Custom-house, for the coast of Africa, in the year 1708, so the very same number, though not all of them the same persons, have signed their late petition to the honourable House of Commons; the reason of which may seem to be this, That possibly some of those who made separate entries were not willing to put themselves upon a level with the rest; but the rest being (it seems) resolved to keep up their compleat number, got others to list themselves as gentlemen-volunteers, though they made no entries at all, as may be seen by comparing their names with the Custom-house books.

Then, as to the Remarker's suggesting that the company comes a-begging to have their neighbours thrown out of their employment, that they may set up again in their room, certainly either he forgets himself extremely, or he must think that all his readers have very treacherous memories, not to remember that, about 20 years ago, there was not so much as one separate trader to Africa, from any part of her Majesty's dominions, but all the trade to Africa was then commonly understood to be the property, as well as in the possession of the
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Royal African Company; nor was there any separate trader to Africa licensed ever by act of parliament, before the year 1697: and yet this Remarker writes with such an air, as if the company were only new upstarts and violent intruders (forsooth) upon the separate traders rights and privileges, though, at the same time, nothing is more certain, than that the company have been the sole recoverers, founders and preservers of that trade to this nation, and, beyond all peradventure, they, or some such other company, must be so still, if we have not a mind to make a compliment of it to the French or Dutch, or both. But I find a good stock of assurance is a very prevailing argument in our age, and I will do so much justice to the Remarker, as to own, that he is not in danger of turning bankrupt in that commodity.

R. Indeed the calamities of this war have borne very hard on the separate traders, who have lost more therein than the company traded for since the act; and though they lost 22 ships and cargoes out of the trade last year, of above 70,000 *l.* value, yet they have 50 sail of ships now employed in this trade.

A. Now, with the Remarker's good leave, I will adventure time about, to make some remarks on this paragraph of his.

1. Here is a voluntary acknowledgment, in the first place, that, since the beginning of this war, the separate traders have lost more therein than the company have traded for since the commencement of the act. This looks somewhat like frank dealing, and therefore, that I may not seem to cross him in all his positions, I freely own that I think it one of the greatest truths in his whole book; yet, that we may not, between us, leave the reader in the dark, as to what this great loss may

may justly be supposed to amount to, I intend to give a particular view thereof, when I come to consider the Remarker's computations, as to exports and imports, and do assure the reader, in the mean time, that the company's whole exports, since the commencement of the act, amounts to about 305,000*l.* beside interest, &c.

2. The Remarker is pleased to tell us, "that the separate traders have lost 22 ships and cargoes out of the trade last year." I have no great mind to dispute the verity of this point of fact, only I observe, that the greatest number of ships dispatched by the separate traders from the port of London to the coast of Africa, in any one year, from the year 1703 to the year 1708, was 29 ships, and in some of these years not above 18 ships at most; from the Plantations there were none in all those years, but only six small vessels from Jamaica, and four small vessels from Antigua: from any out-ports in England there were none, but some few from Bristol, and one in one year from Plymouth. Now, to lose 22 ships, with their cargoes, to the value of above 70,000*l.*, in any one year, out of so small a number of ships sent out, looks to me as if either the fact was not altogether true, or, if true, that then some people were probably at their repentance, whatever face they may, for other reasons, think fit to put upon it; however, in some sense, it is possible I may be mistaken, and the Remarker may sometimes inadvertently happen to blab out a truth; yea, I have heard it said too, that some few persons may perhaps be gainers by commission and commission-houses in the plantations, &c. when, at the same time, those chiefly concerned in the property of the ships and cargoes (though their names be not mentioned in the Custom-house books) may have

too much reason to repent that ever they traded to Africa.

3. As to "the separate traders losing above 70,000*l.* value out of their trade last year," I observe that their greatest exports in any one year, since Michaelmas 1704, has been 35,796*l.* 15*s.* which is considerably above the average of these last three or four years, taking them altogether. And now, to lose above 70,000*l.* out of the afore-said sum of 35,796*l.* 15*s.* seems somewhat singular; but the Remarker is a man of singular skill in numbers, and I will warrant you he will make it out one way or other, with ships and all into the bargain, and write at the bottom of the account, "Item, all spent." And yet (which is the most singular part of all) neither he, nor any of all the separate traders, have any reason to repent that ever they traded to Africa.

4. As to the Remarker's saying that, "Yet they (the separate traders) have above 50 sail of ships now employed in this trade," it is manifest by the Custom-house entries, that (taking one year with another) there have not been above three-fifths of that number sent out to Africa, in any one year, these four or five years last past.

R. And as to the abuses this writer mentions to have been committed by private traders on the natives, the present separate traders know nothing thereof, &c.

A. The Remarker resumes this accusation against the separate traders very imperfectly, and yet the faintness of his defence tacitly implies an acknowledgment of the guilt. But that more separate traders than one have committed very gross abuses, inconsistent with the common rules of humanity, both with relation to the company and the natives on the coast of Africa, may be evidently seen by
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innumerable instances particularly mentioned in the Second Part of these Reflections.

R. What means this man by his story of the Dutch cajolling of the private traders, and using them civilly? Because their agents and factors deny them water, fire at their boats, imprison their servants, pirate their ships, Is he displeased that other nations do not do so too?

A. Here the Remarker comes on again with his mysterious questions, and that in such an awkward and perplexed dress that no man living can understand his meaning, otherwise than by guessing; for, if we have regard to common-sense, the ordinary rules of grammar, and propriety of speech, the appellative (their agents and factors) must relate either to the Dutch or the separate traders, because no other person or persons are any way mentioned in the whole section; yet, if we may pretend to guess at his real meaning here, by his mumbling and grumbling against the Royal African Company elsewhere, and since the natural meaning of his own words does not suit with his purpose, we must understand his meaning to be, that the agents and factors of the company have done those gross things here mentioned, and would, under the cloak of that scandalous and groundless suggestion, palliate and wave the consideration of the separate traders transactions with the Dutch Company's agents, &c. And really his manner of dealing, all along, with the book which he pretends to answer, puts me in mind of seeing an ass mumbling thistles, and of the gingerly pains he takes in guarding against the prickles, while he is chewing them.

R. What

R. What means he by his allegations, that the company called in 180,000*l.* besides their money borrowed.

A. I meant a plain and evident truth, to which the Remarker cannot, with his good-will, be reconciled, though it be fully and distinctly expressed in the 9th and 10th pages of the First Part of these Reflections *; and yet, such is the power of truth, that inadvertently he does as good as own it in his next question.

R. Does he not know they divided that sum, and 100,000*l.* more out again? Besides all they got by trade, which may be worth while for their members to enquire into.

A. The Remarker knows (if he knows any thing at all of the matter) that what he suggests by this question is quite contrary to his own knowledge; for by the company's books (an extract whereof was given in to the lords commissioners for trade) it appears manifestly, that all the dividends made by the company, ever since the trade was laid open by the act of parliament, 1697, amounts to no more than 61,130*l.* in the whole, so that, deducting the common interest from the respective times of their having contributed their several proportions of the aforesaid 180,000*l.* they are still (according to the agreements made in the general courts of adventurers) 140,201*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* out of pocket, of the said advanced sum; and indeed these dividends were only in the nature of premiums for contributing much larger sums, for the preservation and maintenance of the company's forts and settlements, and for keeping up the face of a regular trade, till they could have an opportunity

* Vide page 94 of this volume.

tunity of laying their grievances before the Parliament.

R. Why don't he mention what dividends the company made by Bottomree-bonds, which sunk what stock they had that was tied by parliament for the well maintaining their forts?

A. The malicious, though empty and insipid groundless insinuations of this and the immediate preceding questions, would tempt the patience of Job to make some untoward reply; but the truth is, it would be a betraying one's own weakness, to shew any real concern at any thing that can drop from this Remarker's licentious and trifling pen, for as he has neither reason nor argument on his side, so his design is only to amuse, and not to be understood; and possibly he knows, that to write so as not to be understood, is one sure way of being admired by those of his own rank and degree in letters. Yet I cannot forbear calling to mind here, and applying too on the Remarker's part, the common saying, "That a fool may ask more questions in one day than a wise man can answer in seven years." However, as his questions import nothing that is either puzzling or material, but only the vexation of throwing away so much time on such a worthless piece of work as that which he is pleased to call "Remarks, &c." I think myself, in some measure, obliged to expose the weakness and futility of his reasoning, lest that, peradventure, some unwary readers may be caught and ensnared by the unparalleled confidence of his assertions, and surprizing invidiousness of his poisonous, though groundless insinuations.

From the commencement of the Royal African Company's charter in 1672, all the premio's for money borrowed by them upon Bottomree-bonds,

to this hour, amounts to no more than 43,000*l.* at most; nor was there ever so much as one shilling of that money borrowed, nor Bottomree-bonds granted for the same, without the special allowance, approbation and advice of the general courts of adventurers, from time to time, and that too upon very pinching and extraordinary occasions, and in cases of absolute necessity, for supporting and maintaining their forts and settlements, and for preserving the same, together with their trade, from falling into the hands of the French, Dutch, or other competitors, till some favourable opportunity should offer for obtaining effectual relief and support from the wisdom of the parliament; and indeed, upon the whole matter, it will be made evident, to a demonstration, that, instead of making any dividends out of their calumniously alledged profits, other than the 61,130*l.* formerly mentioned, not only the company, but even the separate traders themselves jointly considered, have lost at least 60*l.* per cent. of all that they have traded for since the commencement of the act. But to suggest that what the company expended in purchasing, building, maintaining and repairing their forts and settlements, &c. and what they too visibly lost in the trade, since the Revolution, was sunk and divided among themselves at home, he might, with as much sincerity, have alledged that the 70,000*l.* value, which (he says) the separate traders lost the last year at sea, came all to the company's hands, and that they divided the same among themselves (according to his own phrase) in Exchange-alley. But, upon this and many other occasions, the company may very justly declaim with Quintilian, thus, "*Quò penetrat livor improbus?*"

R. But as in every paragraph, for many pages, there are either false quotations or false representations of matter of fact, so he says the natives advance the price of Negroes, and depreciate our British manufactures.

A. Certainly the Remarker could never have raved thus of false quotations and false representations of matter of fact, if he had not supposed that his readers were not at all to trouble their heads about the truth or untruth of what was said, or the reasonableness of any argument urged on either side, but to judge of the merits of the cause meerly by his Billingsgate reasoning; and therefore, being resolved to cry out "Whore" first, shews his talent that way in a very extraordinary manner. What these alledged false quotations have been, he will (no doubt) let us know in the next edition of his Remarks, with additions and amendments, &c. But as to his alledged false representations of matter of fact, he has an instance of that ready at hand, viz. "The natives advance the prices of Negroes, and depreciate the British manufactures," which he wisely endeavours to skin over with the vain subterfuges of his if's, abatings, and unless's. But as the demonstrable verity of that fact has been already unanswerably proved in the First and Second Parts of these Reflections, and likewise before a committee of the honourable House of Commons, it is needless to resume the particulars here again; however, it may serve as a farther instance of the Remarker's ingenuity, and of my happiness in being engaged with so fair a disputant, and so generous an adversary.

R. Then says he, "The evil consequences do not stop here, because the merchant imposes the Negroes on the planters at his own extravagant price, and then the planter puts a proportionable

“portionable price on the plantation commodities.” In answer to which, the truth of this fact is just the reverse of his assertion; for let the separate trader pay what he will on the coast for Negroes, when he comes to America it daily happens, that many Negro-ships coming at a time glut the market, by reason of the numbers of Negroes imported, and the many sellers whose hands they fall into; so that it often happens that Negroes have been, even this war, sold for the same prices they cost; and let plantation commodities be bought at what price they will, they are often sold at home for two-thirds of the cost, according to the demand for them, and according to the number of sellers. And the case is very plain, for if 30 or 40 persons come to market with the same commodity, a man may pick and chuse.

A. How faithfully the Remarker resumes my part of this paragraph, and how far it is consistent with truth, may be best seen by comparing it with the 10th page of the original*. But thus far I will agree with him, that “many Negro-ships coming at a time glut the market;” that, as matters are managed now, “the plantation commodities are often sold at two-thirds of the cost (and frequently, all charges borne, yields not the one-half) according to the demand for them, and according to the number of sellers;” and that (as he says) “the case is very plain, for if 30 or 40 persons come to market with the same commodity, a man may pick and chuse.” Now, if the Remarker will but condescend to change the scene a little from the plantations to the coast of Africa, and allow that the same things are in a much more lively manner acted there (as de facto they are, whether he please to allow the same or not) it is not impossible but that we may come to compromise matters

* Vide page 94 and 95 of this volume.

matters, and that (after this fit of scolding is over) the separate traders may find it their interest to agree to those measures proposed by the company, for the preservation and improvement of the British interest in Africa.

R. But if such commodity were in the hands of but one seller for a monopolizing society, he would have his own price for Negroes abroad, and the company would have their own price for sugars at home. Such is the same case this hour in respect to coffee, which, at the place of its growth, is bought under 6*d.* a pound, and yet, by means of its being but in one hand, is sold from 16 to 20*s.* a pound.

A. From saying something like sense, in the former part of this section, the Remarker descends again to his old strain of comparing the coast of Africa with the several shops between Aldgate and Temple-bar: but the company's case (all different circumstances being considered) having no manner of relation to this bull of a comparison about coffee, I refer it to Mr. Bull on Ludgate-hill to answer it.

Hitherto I have gone hand in hand with the Remarker, and (as I humbly apprehend) sufficiently confuted him, paragraph by paragraph, without pretermittting any one section from the very beginning; nor do I know that I have misrepresented him in so much as one single word. But really I am heartily wearied of digging up such a heap of rubbish as he has huddled together, under the title of "Remarks, &c." without any regard to method or order; and therefore, to render the subsequent confused jargon, which he sputters out about numbers, computations, extracts, tables, exports and imports, the more intelligible to the reader, I intend to explain the whole, together

with the many gross fallacies therein contained, under some certain general heads.

I. It is to be observed, that, in all his computations of the separate traders exports, he includes all the 10 per cent. duty paid to the company both for exports and imports; and the accumulative amount of the said 10 per cent. duty being the rule by which he calculates the total of their exports, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that 10,000*l.* must be deducted of his estimate of their said exports, for every 1000*l.* duty which they paid upon imports.

II. In the 6th page of his Remarks already recited, he makes a topping flourish, that 160,000*l.* value per ann. was exported for two years in peace, and near 70,000*l.* value per ann. since the war. But here it is to be observed, that, to swell up these great sums, the company's exports are also included, together with the 10 per cent likewise.

III. He makes a mighty bustle, in his 10th page, to swell up the separate traders exports, in manner aforesaid, to be near 125,000*l.* value per ann. in time of peace, and yet, in the subsequent 11th and 13th pages, he is forced to explain himself to this purpose; That their exports for three years of peace, the greatest that ever they made (and in all probability greater than they are like to make ever again) was only 98,240*l.* and in ditto page 13, computing as aforesaid, all that he pretends the value of their annual exports to be per ann. in an average, after September 1701, is only 40,430*l.* But before we have done, it is not impossible but that he may be brought to acknowledge, that the computation of their exports, mentioned in the 13th page of the First Part of these Reflections*, was reasonably grounded;

* Vide page 100 of this volume.

grounded; for the account I had of it, by extracts of the separate traders oaths and entries, in the Custom-houses of London, Bristol, and other out-ports of England, for six years together, commencing at Michaelmas 1701, was as followeth, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
From 29th Sept. 1701, to 29th Sept. 1702—	37875	18	6
29th ditto 1702, to 29th ditto 1703—	44115	12	3
29th ditto 1703, to 29th ditto 1704—	26527	7	11
29th ditto 1704, to 29th ditto 1705—	30651	7	6
29th ditto 1705, to 29th ditto 1706—	32144	19	6
29th ditto 1706, to 29th ditto 1707—	31986	16	8

The afore said six years exports amounts to 203302 2 4 which, in an average, is 33,883*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* per ann.

IV. Here I cannot but observe, that as the separate traders do labour, by all the means imaginable, to put the issue of all points now in debate, with relation to the constitution and settlement of the trade to Africa, upon the pretended merits of their exports, and alledged importation of Negroes to the Plantations, as if nothing else were to be considered in that matter, so nothing seems to touch them so nearly as any pointed argument that tends to the lessening of either the one or the other, though it be most evident that they do magnify both very much.

It is pleasant to see the Remarker, in his 12th page, sputter out a deal of fume and anger, for my having made their real exports the standard of computing the real number of Negroes which they could have purchased at the price current on the coast of Africa, and for having stated a certain clear dilemma in the said 13th page, that either their exports were no more than what I said they were, or that they perjured themselves in making their entries, to cheat the company of their 10 per cent. duty, which (it seems) nettles them extremely, and wants a categorical answer to this

hour; but he endeavours to shift it, by saying expressly, in his ditto page 12, *R.* That the loading of the separate traders negro-ships are not computed from the value of the cargoes they carry out (as the Reflector wrongfully insinuates) but at 250 Negroes, one with another, which is but the loading of a vessel of 120 tons, or thereabout, and is so mentioned in the report to the Queen.

A. The fallaciousness of this method of computing the numbers of Negroes imported to the plantations, by the numbers of ships sent out to the coast of Africa, is very clearly demonstrated in the 13th and 14th pages of the First Part of these Reflections*; however, for the reader's farther satisfaction, I will (with the Remarker's good leave) add the few following considerations. 1st, We are not as yet fully agreed upon the certain number of ships sent out. 2dly, Allowing the alledged number of ships sent out to be true, yet it is manifest that many of them came off the coast with not above half their complements of slaves. 3dly, Allowing they had all their full complements of slaves, I have heard no substantial reason given, why they should be computed at 250 Negroes per ship, when it is known that many of these ships were but very small sloops. 4thly, Allowing that computation to be just, the Remarker owns, that, of those ships sent out by the separate traders since the commencement of this war, near 100 sail have miscarried outward-bound: All which makes it evident, that any computation that can be made of Negroes imported to the plantations, merely upon the foot of the numbers of ships sent out to Africa, must be as good as no computation at all. And 5thly, Since the Remarker is so ready at solving dilemmas,

* Vide pag. 101, 102, 103 and 104, of this volume.

ma's, I will give him an opportunity of exercising his talent with one more.

Either the separate traders have been guilty of perjury, in making the entries of their exports at the Custom-house short of what they really were, or they have been guilty of robbery, theft or man-stealing on the coast of Africa, or have perhaps been guilty both ways, otherwise they have not imported such numbers of Negroes to the plantations as they alledge they have; which I prove thus:

It is already shewn that their exports, in an average, since Michaelmas 1701, amounted to no more than 33,883*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* per ann. and upon that foot I have, in the 14th page of the First Part of these Reflections*, made a computation, that 4235 Negroes was the greatest number that was possible for them to have purchased with that sum, on the coast of Africa, at 8*l.* per head, even supposing they had no manner of loss or disappointment, nor bestowed any part of it otherways, though the contrary be evident; yet, since they are very angry at that computation, without having confuted it, by any direct answer, to this hour, I will gratify the Remarker so far as to suppose farther, that the separate traders whole exports, in an average, since Michaelmas 1701, has, according to his own lumping computation in his 13th page, amounted to 40,430*l.* per ann. Now I will suppose that (without making any abatement for losses, disappointments, gold, elephants teeth, red-wood, provisions for Negroes, or the like) they have invested all that sum of 40,430*l.* in Negroes, at 8*l.* per head (though it be certain they cost more) yet they could not honestly have purchased with that sum any more than 5053 Negroes at most. I will suppose likewise, that (without

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* Vide page 102 of this volume.

making any abatement for mortality, storms, or the accidents of war) they have delivered that compleat number yearly into the plantations; and if they pretend to have delivered any more, I must beg the Remarker's leave to ask some few questions, time about. 1st, Pray how came they by them? were they all Negro volunteers? No, I reckon that will not be pretended. 2dly, How came the separate traders by all the cam-wood, elephants teeth and gold imported by them, when all the aforesaid sum was previously invested in Negroes? did they get all these in presents from the natives? No sure; for I have heard that the natives were always readier to take than give presents. 3dly, What might be the value of all the cargoes of the 100 sail of ships which, he says, they lost outward-bound, since the commencement of this war, since, in his 7th page, he estimates 22 of them (including the ships in which they were) at 70,000 *l.* value? 4thly, Were all these cargoes fairly entered at the Custom-house? and was the 10 per cent. duty paid for the same? Or 5thly, Did they send out ships without any cargoes, to trust to Providence and the skill of their commanders for getting Negroes, &c. by secret ways and means? 6thly, Will he refer me to the amount of the 10 per cent. duty which was paid, or to the lords commissioners report, for categorical answers to all these queries, arising very naturally from the premises? No, that is coming close to the point. And therefore, till the Remarker, or his confederates, think fit to answer directly to the aforesaid queries (as I have done to his much more from-the-purpose ones) I will desire to be excused, if I continue in the belief (though, at first view, it may seem somewhat uncharitable) that the separate traders have either perjured themselves at the Custom-house, or been guilty of rob-

robbery, theft or kidnapping on the coast of Africa, or endeavoured to impose upon the nation by imaginary numbers of Negroes alledged by them to have been imported to the plantations; yea, and if it be considered that some, who swore to the entries of very considerable exports for the coast of Africa, could (upon other occasions, in order to get extravagant draw-backs from the government) swear that bales of canvas were bales of muslin; and if there be any truth in the contents of the Second Part of these Reflections (which I have not as yet heard contradicted) and considering likewise their method of computing the numbers of Negroes imported to the plantations by the numbers of ships sent out to the coast of Africa, it may (without exceeding the bounds of charity) be shrewdly suspected that, at least, some or other of the separate traders have been guilty of all the three branches of the aforesaid dilemma. These points of fact are all very plainly stated; and if the Remarker, or any of his confederates, can fairly extricate them out of this labyrinth of a dilemma, without mincing matters by his usual little quibbling shifts and evasions, I will very frankly succumb, and own that he ought to be carried off the field in triumph.

I thought to have made an end here, as to this dispute about his pretended numbers of Negroes; but recollecting my memory, that, in his 14th page, he charges me with no less than forgery, in these express words, "As to the certificate he mentions of the numbers of Negroes imported by the separate traders into Barbadoes, for seven years time, it must be either made by himself, or a false quotation, &c." I think myself obliged to obviate that scandalous imputation, with the rest of his civil compliments that way, by subjoining an

exact copy of the certificate itself, and is verbatim as followeth :

B A R B A D O E S.

A LIST of what vessels arrived here from the coast of Africa, also an account of what Negroes were imported in them, from Jan. 2, 1702, to Aug. 10, 1708.

When enter'd.	Vessels names.	Masters names.	No. of Negr.
1702 Jan. 2.	Betty,	William Meain,	97
Feb. 13.	Mary,	Edwin Carter,	295
1703 Mar. 31.	Edward and Francis,	Cha. Laughorne,	152 Co.
Oct. 28.	Betty,	John Luke,	161
Nov. 10.	John's Adventure,	Tho. Matthews,	150
11.	Royal Africa,	Tho. Mackley,	458 Co.
Jan. 6.	Betty,	John Foster,	262
24.	Edward and Francis,	Tho. Mildrum,	145 Co.
27.	Mary,	Will. Codner,	260
Mar. 6.	Daverse Galley,	John Maxwel,	288 Co.
1704 April 5.	Dotton Galley,	John Cox,	150
8.	Tryal,	Josias Appleby,	140
18.	Dolphin,	Tho. Beefwaver,	170
	Lyon and Lamb,	Joseph Green,	378 Co.
May 23.	Champion,	Rob. Penington,	160
July 10.	William & Elizabeth,	Rich. Hamlin,	482
Oct. 4.	Rebecca,	Tho. Matthews,	150
12.	Queen,	Tho. Meale,	240
Nov. 9.	Amiable,	James Porter,	290
Dec. 29.	Mary,	Will. Codner,	218
Jan. 16.	Eagle,	Tho. Bound,	534 Co.
Mar. 8.	Warner,	Philip Bennet,	131
1705 29.	Larke,	Matt. Harman,	176 Co.
April 2.	Edwyn and Joseph,	Edw. Collings,	88
30.	Littleton Galley,	John Lowther,	304
June 29.	Ann Galley,	William Nunn,	90
July 3.	Content,	Steph. Patrick,	96
27.	Mappan,	Bern. Clapcott,	318
Nov. 3.	Edwyn and Joseph,	Edw. Collings,	90
Dec. 15.	Mary,	John Frankling,	234
Jan. 16.	Constant Alice,	John Hunt,	134

carried over — 6841

When

When enter'd.	Vessels names.	Masters names.	No. of Negr.
		brought over	— 6841
1705 Feb. 18.	Eagle,	Tho. Bound,	521 Co.
April 5.	Content,	Joseph Thorne,	143 Co.
12.	Rebecca,	Tho. Matthews,	156
13.	Prodigal Son,	Hugh Mosely,	194 Co.
June 18.	Fame,	Will. Browne,	640 Co.
July 4.	Samuel & Elizabeth,	Rich. Hamlin,	382
8.	Edwin and Joseph,	Edw. Collings,	92
Sept. 19.	Larke Galley,	Isaac Barber,	133
Oct. 12.	Amiable,	James Porter,	336
1706 Nov. 20.	Bridgewater Frigate,	Will. Cooke,	116 Co.
Jan. 25.	Royal Consort,	James Crispin,	458 Co.
27.	Mary,	John Frankling,	226
1707 May 12.	Escape,	Joseph Appleby,	121
Aug. 15.	Larke Galley,	Isaac Barber,	93
Nov. 18.	Sherborough Frigate,	William Gill,	75 Co.
Mar. 6.	Katharine,	Lamb. Peachey,	476 Co.
1708 29.	Dorothy,	Thomas Ashby,	123 Co.
April 19.	Hawke,	Rich. Thomas,	130
			11256

BARBADOES. **T**HESE are to certify, That the foregoing is a true list of what vessels arrived here from the coast of Africa; also an account of what Negroes were imported in them, from the second day of January 1702, to the tenth day of August 1708, according to entries made in the Naval-Office of this island. Given under my hand and seal of the Naval-Office, this tenth of August 1708, in the seventh year of her Majesty's reign, &c.

To whom it shall or
may concern.

SAM. COX,
Naval-Officer.

Here is a very particular and distinct certificate, printed off the very original, which (if needful) is to be produced before the honourable House of Commons, and the Remarker, with all his confederates,

derates, are hereby challenged to produce a better or more apposite voucher, if they can.

It is evident, by the aforefaid certificate, that, instead of the separate traders boasted allotment of 4000 Negroes per ann. for Barbadoes (which, in seven years time, would have amounted to 28,000 Negroes) they have, in near about seven years time (after deducting the company's importations, mentioned likewise in the same certificate) imported only 6454 Negroes to that island; and, as a farther proof of the yearly declension of their boasted trade, instead of their pretended improvement thereof, it is evident, by the said certificate likewise, that, from Aug. 10, 1707, to Aug. 10, 1708, they imported only 130 Negroes to Barbadoes, though it be the most considerable of all the Caribbee-Islands.

Then, instead of the separate traders allotment of 12,000 Negroes per ann. for Jamaica, which, in seven years time, would have amounted to 84,000 Negroes, it will appear, by the very accounts annexed to the lords commissioners report, that (after deducting the numbers of Negroes imported thither by the company, which are accumulated in these accounts) the yearly numbers imported to that island by the separate traders, for seven years last past, are as followeth:

In the year	{	1702	the separate traders im- ported to Jamaica.	{	2098	Negroes.
		1703			2703	
		1704			2406	
		1705			2774	
		1706			3682	
		1707			3270	
		1708			1952	

which, in all, makes but 18,885 Negroes, and is, by some thousands, short of the fourth part of the aforefaid allotment for seven years,

Then,

Then, as to such part of the aforesaid accounts as relate to Antegoa, the Negroes imported in two of the company's ships, viz. the William and Jane, Thomas Holland commander, and the Canterbury, William Read commander, are, by mistake, inserted as if they had been imported by the separate traders; so that, after deducting the numbers of Negroes imported thither by the company, the whole that the separate traders imported to Antegoa, for seven years last past, amounts to no more than 1691 Negroes.

Nor do I find that the separate traders have imported to the islands of Nevis, Montserrat, and St. Christopher's, above the number of 1260 Negroes altogether, these seven years past. By which the reader may see how near the separate traders have come to their boasted allotment of 4000 Negroes per ann. for the Leeward-Islands, which, in the aforesaid seven years time, would have amounted to 28,000 Negroes.

But the Remarker (like all other quacks and mountebanks; for there are mountebank-scribblers, as well as mountebank-doctors) has one general answer to all manner of scruples and objections, viz. That they made great exports, which produced likewise a great importation of Negroes, for one or two years immediately preceding the last seven years.

In reply to which, the Remarker may be pleased to consider (if he considers any thing at all) that, as his having extremely magnified the separate traders exports and imports for the aforesaid two years, is already demonstrated in the immediate preceding 294th and following pages, so even their real exports and imports, in that time, were occasioned meerly by reason of some hundreds of ignorant persons falling hastily into that trade, of
which

which they knew as little (it seems) as the Remarker does, for they as hastily gave it over again; as appears by their numbers then (stated in page 280) compared with their numbers at this time.

What now remains of this worthy Remarker's performance to be considered, is that most ignorant and scandalously fictitious account which he states in his 26th and 27th pages, and maliciously subjoins, that, out of the sum of 293,730*l.* (the company's exports from the commencement of the act till Michaelmas 1707) they must have made 430,000*l.* beside the charge of maintaining their forts, the 10 per cent. duty, &c. But had he understood any thing of merchant-accounts, and not been transported with fury and rage, he would, or at least he ought to, have stated that account thus :

	£.	s.	d.
The company's exports — —	293740	6	8
The parliament duty 10 per cent.	29374	0	8
Premio of insurance (premio and rebate included) at 8 per cent. in peace, and 16 guineas in war — — —	54000	0	0
Interest for 20 months — —	37711	8	10
The company's sterling-account	414825	16	2

The returns, as per the Remarker's folio 26.

By imports of wood and teeth, &c.	52230	17	1
By 5982 Negroes sold at Barbadoes	156425	7	6
By 11778 ditto, in the other plantations — — —	306248	0	0
By 2500 more in the year 1708	65000	0	0
By his computation of gold —	50000	0	0
Gross computed returns in Eng- lish and plantation-money }	629904	4	7

Out

Out of which the following charges and losses are to be deducted, to make it sterling and fact.

	£.	s.	d.
Insurance, freight and custom on wood and teeth — — — — }	26115	8	6
Freight of 8500 Negroes, at 5 <i>l.</i> per head — — — — }	42500	0	0
Ditto of 14278, at 11 <i>l.</i> per head	157058	0	0
Captains and factors commission, 14 <i>l.</i> per cent. — — — — }	73874	0	0
One-third loss by the returns of the neat produce of the plan- tation-money, as per the Re- marker's page 9. — — — — }	84747	2	6
Over-charged in the returns of gold — — — — }	30000	0	0
The whole discounts — — — —	414294	11	0
Balance to the sterling-account	215609	13	7
	629904	4	7
The sterling-account is debtor	414825	16	2
Ditto creditor — — — —	215609	13	7
So lost of the above exports	199216	2	7

It is, to be observed, that no allowance is made in this account for bad debts, though it be well known that the company have lost many thousands of pounds by trusting the planters, &c.

It would be almost an endless labour to enumerate all the absurdities and contradictions that have dropt from this Remarker's pen.

In

In his 6th and 7th pages, he makes the company to be meer bankrupts, &c. and yet, to answer another turn, by his aforementioned fictitious account, page 26 and 27, he must have the company to have made very considerable profits, since the trade has been laid open. And pray what does he mean by all this? A very pious design, no doubt! to set the several members of the company together by the ears, to the end that, in the mean time (as the saying is) a third dog may come in and run away with the bone, about which they are now contending.

It is too melancholy a truth, that, instead of having gained by the trade, the company have lost very great sums by it since the same has been laid open, as may evidently appear by this account last stated; and it can, by the same rule, be clearly demonstrated, that the separate traders, jointly considered, have likewise lost, in the same manner, in proportion to their exports, whatever the Remarker may, for indirect ends, alledge to the contrary, meerly to ensnare ignorant people to fall under the consequences of some particular person's commission-houses in the plantations, &c. whose fraudulent practices are generously and honestly detected by one of the most considerable persons among the separate traders themselves, in a letter to a Member of Parliament, lately printed, and copies thereof delivered at the door of the House of Commons the other day; yea, the worthy gentleman who wrote that letter attended, at the same time, to have justified the contents thereof, if thought needful, before the House. Which may be a sufficient precaution to shopkeepers and others not to be hooked in, by the masters of such commission-houses, to be concerned with them or others in private or separate adventures

tures to the coast of Africa; and is likewise a further argument for settling that valuable trade on such a fixt and solid constitution as may preserve and improve it, by one uniform management and publick administration, to the general credit and advantage of the whole kingdom and the plantations thereunto belonging, as well as to the particular advantage of every individual who shall happen to be immediately concerned in the joint-stock now proposed.

Then lastly, As to this Remarker's wise project of a regulated open trade to Africa, I refer him and all his profelytes to the five last chapters of the First Part of these Reflections (to which, by the by, none of all the advocates for an open trade have ever, to this hour, so much as attempted to make any answer, nor, by all appearance, ever will) and to the contents of the fourth chapter of this Third Part likewise, by which the sincere and honest intentions of the company may be seen in few words.

C H A P. II.

Some considerations on the testimonies and evidence given on behalf of the Royal African Company and separate traders to Africa alternately, for and against each other, before a committee of the honourable House of Commons, the 18th day of February, and 2d and 9th days of March, 1708-9.

IT is an old saying, "Set a white dog and a black dog together by the ears, in a dirty kennel, it is odds but that they will come out both alike,"

alike, black ;” and truly (all circumstances considered) the allusion cannot be thought very improper here, in relation to the present dispute between the aforefaid company and separate traders ; for innocence itself cannot plead exemption from being reviled, to the highest degree, whenever it falls under the misfortune of being engaged in a debate with persons of invidious tempers, and whose cause cannot be supported but by recrimination, calumny and slander, and whose chief maxim is, “ *calumniare audacter aliquid adhærebit.*”

The company, finding themselves extremely aggrieved by the unaccountable practices of the separate traders, as particularly narrated in the First and Second Parts of these Reflections, addressed themselves, by petition, to the honourable House of Commons, for relief, and being accordingly heard, on the 18th day of February, before a committee of the whole House, many witnesses were examined, upon the several heads of the company’s petition, and all of them agreeing in proving not only the several allegations of the said petition, very distinctly, but also many of the gross abuses charged upon the separate traders in the Second Part of these Reflections, the committee seemed to be so far satisfied, that it was thought needless to examine the other witnesses, whom the company had then present, ready to prove the same likewise : So a day was appointed for hearing the separate traders upon the same heads.

Then the separate traders having been heard, before the same committee, on the 2d day of March, were (it seems) resolved not to be behind-hand with the company in point of accusation, and therefore, instead of making any real defence to the company’s charge, made furious and extravagant harangues against the company, charging them

them back again with no less crimes (forsooth) than high-treason, piracy and murder. 2dly, They valued themselves extremely upon the old story of their magnified exports to Africa, and importation of Negroes to the plantations. 3dly, They urged that the company's forts and settlements were but insignificant houses, of little value. 4thly, That the company's accounts for maintaining the same were extravagant. And 5thly, That the company were making improvements on the coast of Africa, which would be injurious to the Western Plantations. For proof of all which they produced three several letters, and had several persons examined, whom they brought along with them as witnesses. The merits of all which pretended proofs were, on the 9th day of March, by special appointment of the committee, severally replied to very distinctly, with a becoming gravity and decent behaviour, by the gentlemen who spoke on behalf of the company, and witnesses were then likewise examined, "hinc inde," in relation to the premisses; and then the farther consideration of the whole matter was adjourned, by the committee, till Saturday next. But lest that persons who were not present when the committee had the premisses under examination may be imposed upon by the clamorous and noisy stories of the separate traders, it may not be thought improper to gratify the reader with the following naked account thereof:

I. Treason, piracy and murder, are crimes of a very deep dye; and therefore, to prevent any groundless impression that the horror of the very sound of such names may make upon the minds of those of weaker understandings, we ought to search into the very bottom and foundation of these matters of fact which were condescended upon, as the grounds of that clamour that the

separate traders raised, probably to divert such enquiry as they were afraid might be made into other matters that touched themselves much more nearly.

All European companies trading to the East-Indies or the coast of Africa, but more particularly the Dutch and French, are impowered to make treaties of peace and commerce (and war too upon occasion) in any of those parts, according as they find the same suit best with their respective circumstances at the time, without regard to peace or war in Europe.

And to come nearer home, our neighbours of Scotland (who are lately united with us) foreseeing, it seems, the necessity of having their late Indian and African Company vested with such a power, obtained a special clause to be inserted in the act of parliament and letters patent by which that company was established, in the express words following, viz. "And, by force of arms, to defend their trade and navigation, colonies, cities, towns, forts and plantations, and other their effects whatsoever; as also to make reprisals, and to seek and take reparation of damage done by sea or land, and to make and conclude treaties of peace and commerce with the sovereigns, princes, states, rulers, governors or proprietors of the aforesaid lands, islands, countries or places in Asia, Africa or America;" as all the noblemen and gentlemen of North-Britain, who are now members of either house of parliament, must needs know.

The Royal African Company of England, by the like power, virtually comprehended (as they conceived) in the general words of their charter, 1672, and the English East-India Company likewise, have always exercised that power of making
treaties

treaties of peace and commerce (and war too upon occasion) with the French, Dutch, natives, &c. any where beyond the limits of Europe, and within the limits of their respective charters, otherwise they could never have maintained the British interest, in those remote parts of the world, against the insults and practices of the French, Dutch, natives, &c.

Some few years after the Revolution, the Royal African Company attacked and seized the French Company's forts of Goree and Senegal, on the north coast of Africa, and such of the effects taken out of these as were proper for European markets, were, with some of the Royal African Company's own effects, shipped for England; but Captain Leech, commander of the ship in which these goods were, after maintaining an obstinate fight, for several hours together, with some French privateers that attacked him near the land's-end of England, finding himself at last overpowered and boarded by the enemy, did, with very singular resolution, blow up the ship's deck, and sunk himself, ship and all, to prevent such a valuable cargo from falling into the hands of the French.

A grant was soon thereafter obtained from King William, for his Majesty's share (viz. the one-half) of the said capture, pursuant to the tenor of the company's charter; and after standing a suit at law upon this defence, "That the said capture did not arrive safe, &c." the company was obliged to pay the same, though the said two forts of Goree and Senegal, with all the goods in them also, were retaken by two French men of war which happened to come upon that coast, in less than two months time after Captain Leech's departure for England, and before the English had

time to repair them, so as to put them in a state of defence.

In the year 1695, the French King sent six ships of force, under the command of Monsieur de Gennes, to the north coast of Africa, to infest and destroy as many as they could of the English Company's settlements in those parts; which they did so effectually, that (chiefly by reason of the cowardice and negligence of the then governor, who wanted some part of poor Captain Leech's supererogating resolution) they surprized and took James-Fort in Gambia-River, and after having taken out of it effects of very great value (as is particularly expressed in the 108th page of this volume) they in a manner demolished the fort.

Upon the company's having received the unwelcome news of that great disaster and loss, they, with all possible expedition, sent ships, with men, stores, provisions, goods for sale, and other necessaries for repossessing and repairing their said fort, which by degrees they did, but never to its former condition.

However, the Royal African Company and the French being in a continued state of war upon that coast, the French, in the year 1702, sent again some ships of war, with orders to do all the mischief they could to the company's settlements in those parts; and accordingly they took, plundered, and almost demolished James-Fort the second time, as also Sherbrow-Fort in York-Island, and Sierra-Leon-Fort in Bence-Island likewise.

Nor were these the company's only misfortunes, for they had their bosom-friends, the 10 per cent. men, supplanting and ruining their interest both at home and abroad, their old competitors the Dutch
embar-

embarrassing and undermining their measures on the Gold-Coast, and (after having stood suit for some years together) were, in the year 1703, obliged to pay about 2800*l.* as the value of two small interloping vessels, with their cargoes, taken in the year 1676, by Captain Richard Dickenson, commander of the Hunter man of war, by virtue of King Charles the second's special commission for that effect, and condemned by the court of admiralty, in pursuance of the company's charter. And the remarkable specialty of that case was this, That though they paid 1400*l.* into his Majesty's exchequer, and 700*l.* more to the aforesaid commander of the said man of war, as their respective proportions of the said capture, adjudged at 2800*l.* as aforesaid, pursuant to his Majesty's said commission, yet the company was made liable for the whole.

In the year 1704, four French ships being sent to the north coast of Guinea (whereof two were ships of great force) they again took and plundered James-Fort, in Gambia-River, a third time, as also Sierra-Leon, in Bence-Island.

NOTA, That whenever the separate traders make any mention of the company's forts and settlements on the north coast of Africa, in their prints or otherways, they represent them, at best, but according to the condition in which they were at that time only, without any regard to their former strength and condition, when first surpris'd and taken by the French. And the Remarkers saying, in his 15th page, "That Monsieur de Gennes's taking Gambia, in the year 1695 (as related in the 108th page of this volume) is a fabulous story," argues either very gross ignorance or disingenuity, or both; for, as the book out of which I quoted a short narrative of that point of

X 4

fact

fact was produced and referred to, by one of the gentlemen who spoke on behalf of the company, before the honourable committee, so hundreds of noblemen and gentlemen in this kingdom have copies thereof (some in French, and some in English) in their libraries. But I observe that an affected ignorance seems to be as necessary for the Remarker's purpose, in some cases, as his pretended knowledge and discovery is in other respects.

Now comes on the high-treason formerly mentioned.

The Royal African Company of England, and the French Senegal Company, having thus waged war, and done all the mischief they could to one another, for 13 or 14 years together (with this difference, that the French Company were always supported and re-inforced, from time to time, with continued assistance from the French King; whereas the English Company, warring only at their own sole charge and expence, were extremely harassed, and in a manner quite ruined on the north coast of Guinea, by the continued attacks and depredations of the French, as afore narrated) and both companies becoming, it seems, at last wearied of this method of trading, the English Company's secretary (upon a proposal made on behalf of the French Company, by a French merchant still living in the city of London, touching a neutrality between the two companies on the coast of Africa) wrote a letter, in the year 1704, to the English Company's agent at Gambia, in the following words: " This serves to acquaint you of the offers and promises of the French Senegal Company, from Mr. La Porstre, residing here in London, that they will not molest the company's trade, in those parts, within the limits of the French

French Senegal Company (which is from Cape Blanco to the River Sierra-Leon) or disturb any ship, vessels, bark, boat, canoe, or other effects belonging to the English Company, and that they will prevent the same to be done by any ships of war, privateers, or ships in their service, and give directions accordingly to their chief agents; and also that they assist you, and all this company's servants, from any disturbance from the natives, and, to remove all jealousies, they will give directions that their factory at Albadar be discontinued during the war, and not concern themselves with the trade of that river. These things we hold to be our interest, and if it appear so that they have given such directions, and their chief in all things comply thereto, you may likewise, so far as is in your power, maintain the same civilities." The original was (after two or three long speeches made by the separate traders, exaggerating the mighty treason contained in it) presented to the honourable committee, and lies now in the hands of the clerk of the honourable House of Commons. And if any man find more treason in it than what is here expressly recited, then I will allow that all the stories published by the separate traders, from first to last, since the commencement of this dispute, are true.

But the separate traders forgot, at the same time, to tell that, in the year 1703, there was a much more solemn quadrupartite neutrality agreed to, at Whidah, on the south coast of Africa, by the French, Dutch, and English Company's agents there, and the Negro King of the place. However, it was thought fit to take no notice of that treason, because indeed without it, and the protection of the English Company's fort there, none of the separate traders could, with any safety, adven-

adventure to trade thither; and beside too, there could be no mention made of that neutrality (or treason) without bringing in our friends the Dutch for a snack likewise.

But, to come nearer home, the Dutch have, during all this war, by the publick allowance of England, traded and held an open correspondence with France, about matters relating to trade, though they be very hearty in the war, and in the interest of the confederacy against France; and it is hoped that, at least, as little reason can be given for suspecting either the Royal African Company, or their secretary, of any other design, by the aforesaid letter, than merely self-preservation on the coast of Africa, as there is of suspecting the much-more powerful Dutch, where perhaps the interest of England may be more sensibly touched, by their having a free and open trade where we have none. But if I were to give my humble opinion in the matter, it would be consistent with what I know to be the concurrent wishes of many thousands of her Majesty's trading subjects, viz. That, in all declarations of war between Princes, there should be a special exception, as to a neutrality in matters of trade; for the innocent and industrious merchant has many other hazards and dangers to encounter, beside that of being declared ready-drest meat for a parcel of hungry privateers, letters of marque's men, &c. who may justly be reckoned to be, at best, but a pack of privileged sea-robbers. So that, upon the whole matter, if the separate traders had spoke plainly and said, That the African Company's secretary had, by the contents of the aforesaid letter, formed a treasonable design of bringing over the Pretender from France, by the way of Africa, we might easily have guessed at

the probability thereof. But to amuse a committee of the honourable House of Commons with previous harangues about some black treason or other, and to make people without doors big with the expectation of a discovery of some treasonable plot, and to be at last brought-to-bed of a mere tympany, viz. the aforesaid letter only, is such a piece of assurance as is only consistent with the other known practices of some of the separate traders.

2dly. Now comes on the piracy.

Captain Roger Wills, master and commander of the ship *Primrose*, going a voyage to the north coast of Africa, on account of some separate traders, was frequently observed (whenever he drank any strong liquors to excess) to fall into several fits of madness and distraction, and happening to be treating one of the Negro Kings, viz. the King of Sherbrow, fell into one of those fits, and, in a romantick humour, would acknowledge no other Sovereign but that Negro King, and, in token of his allegiance, made him a present of the whole ship and cargo; which coming to the ears of Mr. Henry Greenway, the company's agent at Sherbrow, ditto Greenway, by presents and otherways, got back the ship out of the Negro King's hands, gave the charge of her to the former commander's mate, and supplied her, out of the company's stores, with one bower-cable large, one bower-anchor large, one small bower-anchor, and 1400 weight of clean rice, to be paid to the company at English rates, beside 129*l.* 18*s.* value of damages sustained by the company, by taking ditto ship from the said King, as per particular account stated in ditto Greenway's journal. But after the said ship was thus sent home to the owners, and
arrived

arrived safe at the port of London, when the company made their demand upon account of the premisses, the aforesaid captain and owners, instead of making any just and grateful acknowledgment, run out into exclamations against the company, that their agent had robbed the said captain of his ship, would not allow him to have the command thereof, put in his mate over his head, &c. insomuch that the company was forced to commence a suit for recovery of the premisses in due course of law.

3dly. Then as to the murder charged upon the company, the matter of fact was thus: One — Hudson, employed in the company's service at one of their forts on the south coast of Africa, upon a sudden private quarrel that happened between him and one of the Negro Kings, in a transport of passion immediately pistoled the said King, which (beside the heinousness of the crime) was one of the greatest pieces of disservice that he could have done to the company's interest; for it cost them many a pound to make peace again with the natives of that part of the coast. But to shew the company's abhorrence to that fact, they immediately (after they had advice of it) dismissed the murderer out of their service, with full purpose never to employ him any more; and yet he is now entertained and employed by the separate traders themselves (as they could not deny before the honourable committee) though they had the assurance to raise a clamour against the company, upon account of a crime which they knew was committed by him, without the company's privity or consent. But any thing to make a noise against the company, no matter what, whether true or false; which brings into my mind the
3 poet's

poet's observation, in another case, somewhat a-kin to this :

“ Some conscious of the crimes they dare not own,
“ Do raise an out-cry to run others down :
“ Then undistinguish'd pass among the crowd,
“ And, to 'scape free, cry fire ! fire ! aloud.”

II. The separate traders magnified stories of their exports to Africa, and importation of Negroes to the Western Plantations, are sufficiently exploded in the first chapter of this Third Part of these Reflections, &c.

III. Though the company proved the usefulness, state and condition of their forts and settlements, by the concurring testimonies of several positive witnesses, well acquainted with the coast of Africa, yet the separate traders would, in contradiction to these testimonies, pretend to prove the negative of that positive, and that by such witnesses too, as, upon other occasions, they pretended were not admitted to have access into the company's forts, and consequently could give no just account of them. However, indeed, when one of their most significant witnesses, who had formerly been in the company's service, though now, it seems, in a separate interest, was closely examined upon that head, he could not forbear declaring, that, without forts, the trade there could not be preserved. But more of this in the fourth chapter.

IV. As to the alledged extravagant and fictitious account charged by the company, on account of their forts, the gentlemen of the company replied, 1. That it ought to be considered who were the persons that gave evidence in this matter, viz. persons who, by their notorious treachery

treachery and breach of trust, have rendered themselves incapable of being received as witnesses against the company, in any court of judicature whatsoever; nor were they then upon oath, &c.

2. That by their deserting the company's service, and embezzling such of the company's effects as were in their hands, they fell on this way of flying most ungratefully in the company's face, and joining with the company's enemies, as a pretence for not accounting with the company for what was severally committed to their respective trusts. 3. That the accounts pretended by these persons to be the real accounts of such sums as they alledge were laid out on account of the forts, consisted only of such articles, at most, as were actually paid by these persons themselves upon the coast; but that the company advancing great sums of money here, by letters of attorney, and for salaries, stores, provisions, imprest-money to artificers and servants, &c. of which these persons upon the coast could know but little or nothing; and the company being obliged, by the act, to give in their accounts yearly to the Curfitor-Baron, &c. they were forced to make up their accounts by the yearly establishments, which they were obliged to pay, though perhaps some articles of these accounts might remain unpaid, at the time of giving in their aforesaid accounts.

V. The separate traders accused the company of making such improvements on the coast of Africa as would ruin the Western Plantations; to prove which they produce a letter from the deputy-governor to one of the company's agents, encouraging him to plant indigo, pepper and cotton in some of the company's islands on the coast of Africa, which, beyond all peradventure, would
be

be a very great national advantage, if they could bring it to any tolerable perfection; for none can pretend that our Western Plantations are capable of furnishing this nation with sufficient quantities of these commodities; and as improvements in these, on the coast of Africa, would by much lessen the charge of our navigation, so thereby a vast yearly expence of treasure would be saved to this kingdom, which is carried out now for such great quantities of these commodities as are necessarily imported from the East-Indies, Holland, &c. so that, instead of a groundless accusation, the gentlemen of the African Company ought, in my humble opinion, to be applauded for giving these renewed proofs of their endeavours to improve the African trade, to a more national advantage than can be done by any method proposed by the separate traders.

VI. A farther accusation against the company was, that they took measures to ruin the interest of the separate traders; for proof whereof they produced another letter, under the deputy-governor's hand, to one of the company's agents, advising him to take the first of the market, to buy up all the elephants teeth that he could get, and likewise buy as many slaves as possible, and to let the separate traders have the refuse of these. Pray what of all this? I would gladly know that merchant who does not endeavour to take the like methods, in any branch of trade whatsoever? that is, to have the first and choice of the market, if he can. It cannot be alledged that there was any such thing in the deputy-governor's letter, as imported the out-bidding or underselling the separate traders, either as to the prices of Negroes or European goods. But the company instantly produced

produced to the honourable committee, original instructions given to the master of one of the separate traders ships, and signed by one of the petitioning separate traders for himself and partners, containing exprefs orders to out-bid and undersel the company, and to deliver the great guns therein mentioned as a present to one of the Negro Kings. These instructions were given in the year 1699, and are now in the hands of the clerk of the honourable House of Commons. By which the reader may clearly see, that the separate traders only are justly chargeable for having brought the trade into disorder and confusion: and so, with reference to the allusion of that saying, mentioned in the first lines of this chapter, I may justly now conclude, that though a white dog, sullied by fighting with a black dog in a dirty kennel, may be washed clean and white again, yet a dog that is black by nature can never be washed white, though all the water in the Thames were poured upon him.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

A clear demonstration, from points of fact, that the recovery, preservation and improvement of Britain's share of the trade to Africa, is wholly owing to the industry, care and application of the Royal African Company.

BY the progress of our trade to Africa, since the beginning of the last century, it is evident, that the impracticability of carrying on and preserving that trade, in any open method, was always the occasion of establishing companies, from time to time, with exclusive privileges, by charters under the great seal of England; and that, whenever infractions were made upon those privileges, the trade fell always, of course, into disorders.

By a certificate from the Custom-house, it appears that, in full four years time, immediately preceding the first charter granted by King Charles II. to the present company's predecessors, when England had but one castle (called Corman-teen-Castle) on the Gold-Coast, and that the trade to Africa lay open to all the people of England, viz. in the years 1657, 1658, 1660, 1661 (the registers of 1659 being burnt) all the woollen manufactures exported from England to Africa, in the aforesaid four years time, were only 669 faves and 484 perpets, making in all 1153 pieces.

By a certificate, under the hands of 40 of the principal persons concerned in the woollen manufactures in London, proper for the trade to Africa, it appears that the new manufactures of annabasses,

nicanees, tapfeils and brawles, were introduced by the Royal African Company's particular direction and encouragement, for the trade to Africa; and that the said company have annually taken off great quantities of the said goods, and thereby given employment to above 500 persons, in and about the city of London, for the making and dying of the said goods.

By a certificate, under the hands of 64 of the principal persons concerned in the woollen manufactures in Kidderminster, proper for the trade to Africa, it appears that the new manufactures of boysadoes and striped carpets, which are made in and about Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester, were introduced by the particular directions of the Royal African Company; and that the said company, having annually taken off great quantities of the said goods, have thereby given employment to above 1000 persons in and about that place, and caused an extraordinary consumption of English wool, of which the said new manufactures are only made.

By another certificate from the Custom-house, it appears, that in four years time (after the above-mentioned and other manufactures were, by the company's particular direction and encouragement, brought to a staple goodness) before the Revolution, viz. in the years 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, the company exported from England to the coast of Africa 8208 sayes, 15,595 perpets, 2801 boysadoes, 1776 Welsh plains, 250 bayes, 165 1-half broad-cloths, 1520 blankets, 600 yards of flannels, 1170 English carpets, 104 crapes, 2067 fine annabasses, and 69,388 ordinary ditto, making in all 103,644 pieces; which exceeds the former four years exports (while the trade was open, before King Charles II. granted an exclusive charter) by

102,491

102,491 pieces of woollen manufactures, and bears near the same proportion to the exports which were made, during the aforesaid four years of open trade, as 100 does to 1; which is such an improvement as all the interlopers and private traders from England to Africa could never, in the least, pretend to have made, either before or since that time.

And lest it should be pretended that these great numbers of pieces of woollen manufactures exported by the Company to Africa, might possibly amount but to a small value, it appears by the Custom-house, as well as the company's books, that their exports, in the year 1683, amounted to the value of 78,028*l.* 18*s.* their exports in 1684 amounted to 54,932*l.* 11*s.* 7*d.* their exports in 1685 amounted to 82,346*l.* 1*d.* and their exports in 1686 amounted to 66,128*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* which, in an average, is something more than 70,000*l.* per ann. as is particularly stated in the 276th page of this volume.

But lest it should be pretended here likewise, that the exports of these four years are designedly picked out, as the greatest which the company ever made, while they enjoyed the privileges of their charter, it may be seen by the same books, and by the abstract in the aforesaid 276th page, whether we look backward or forward, till the Revolution, that their exports in the year 1682, immediately preceding the said four years, amounted to 89,616*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* and that their exports in the year 1687, immediately succeeding the said four years, amounted to 77,695*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* either of which far exceeds what the company say their exports were usually in an average; which is a demonstration that they do not swell up their computations at random, to impose upon the

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nation

nation (as the separate traders do) but keep always within compass.

In those days, the company being intire masters of the trade, had such a distinct and uniform view thereof, that they always proportioned their exports to the vend which they found for the same on the coast of Africa, and as they could improve the one, so they did enlarge the other, with a due regard always to the general interest of the kingdom and the plantations, as well as to their own particular advantage; for it cannot be disputed, but that, as they were the first introducers and encouragers of the woollen manufactures here, proper for the coast of Africa, so they gave better prices for the same to the manufactors, than the private traders have done ever since: and as they then commanded the markets on the coast of Guinea, by getting at least cent. per cent. advance on these manufactures, and purchasing the best Negro slaves for 3*l.* or 3*l.* 10*s.* at most, per head, and the other products of Africa proportionally, so it is past dispute, that they sold these slaves again in the plantations from 13*l.* to 16*l.* per head, as appears by the accounts of their sales for many years together, and by the living testimonies of masters of ships who served the company at that time.

Moreover, the company, in those days, imported not only great quantities of cam-wood, elephants teeth, wax, and other goods from the coast of Africa, to be manufactured here, but likewise as much gold as coined several hundred thousand guineas in the Tower of London; whereas, ever since the trade has been laid open, in 1697, the company and separate traders have not coined 20,000 guineas, in 10 years time, together.

Yea

Yea further, it is already made sufficiently evident to the honourable House of Commons, that the company have been at a continued vast charge and expence, in the purchasing, building, maintaining and repairing forts, factories and settlements on the coast of Africa, in the making and preserving alliances with the natives, and in struggling to preserve and improve the British interest there against the insults and undermining practices of the French, Dutch, and all other foreign competitors whatsoever, ever since their first establishment to this hour; so that they have, even almost to a wonder, borne the heavy burden of preserving that trade to the nation, without having had the benefit of their charter ever since the Revolution, but, on the contrary, met with greater discouragements, both at home and abroad, than ever they were willing to express.

All the aforesaid particulars are such positive points of fact and demonstrable truths, that, upon due enquiry and examination, it is not in the power of malice itself to overturn or confute any one of them.

And now, since it is plainly evident that the company, with a small joint-stock, under one uniform management, have done so great things for their own and this nation's credit and interest, while they enjoyed the exclusive privileges of their charter, any reasonable person may easily judge to what a vast degree they might have raised and extended that trade, to the general advantage of this kingdom (when, by the trade itself, their capital stock was very greatly encreased) had they not been interrupted in their progress, yea, and in a manner quite suppressed, by the infractions of private traders, and the fatal consequences of di-

vided and interfering interests among ourselves, both at home and abroad.

Then let us suppose that the interlopers, or separate traders (who make such a mighty bustle now) had found the state of the trade to Africa in the same condition, and under the same circumstances it was in before the Royal African Company and their predecessors were established with exclusive privileges by King Charles II. viz. without any forts or castles on the Gold-Coast (except Cormanteen-castle, now possessed by the Dutch) without any alliances or confederations with the natives, without factories or correspondents in the several ports of trade along that coast, without having any sortable cargoes from hence, proper for that trade, but what must have been first brought hither from Holland, and without the nation's having any true knowledge or experience of the nature and circumstances of that trade, or indeed any great humour or inclination to prosecute it, except in so far as the King and some few particular persons had then a mind to encourage and protect any society that would undertake to raise a joint-stock for carrying it on, chiefly with the view of supplying the plantations with Negroes, and to prevent the depopulating his Majesty's other dominions, by carrying too many servants from hence. In that case, what would have become of Britain's share of the trade to Africa, if that trade had been still left open, without this or any other such company's being ever established, and these new separate pretenders left at their liberty to trade thither, or not, as they pleased? Why truly, the case is very obvious, and the answer is plainly this; We should, by this time, have had the very same access to the

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Gold-Coast of Africa that we have to the Spice-Islands in Asia (which is none at all) and the trade to Africa had been irrecoverably lost to this nation, without ever knowing, or having so much as a just notion of the value of what we had lost: and even as it is, were it not for the books, records, and regular correspondences of the Royal African Company, and the experience of several persons concerned with and employed by them, both abroad and at home, the nation would be, as yet, in profound ignorance of the true nature and state of that trade, nor could any tolerable account thereof be given, even at this time, for the information of either house of parliament.

But so it is, that, for rescuing this trade out of the hands of the Dutch (who, before the Royal African Company was established, were, in a manner, the only considerable traders to Guinea) and for preserving and improving the same to a national advantage, the company have, with much industry and application, and at a very great charge and continued expence, purchased, built, maintained and repaired, from time to time, several considerable forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, made and renewed, as occasion required, several alliances and confederations with the natives, introduced, directed and encouraged the making of fundry new manufactures in England, proper for the trade to Africa, which the company were, at their first setting up, forced to buy from Holland, viz. Leyden sayes, scarlet cloths, fustians, knives, muskets, boysadoes, annabasses, &c. have likewise accustomed the natives of Africa to take and consume several woollen and other manufactures of England, which were never sent to Guinea before the company was established;

and, in a word, have, even under the pressure of all the complicated difficulties and discouragements which they met with, these many years past, struggled to preserve that valuable trade to the nation, until they could have an opportunity of laying their case and grievances now before the parliament, and see what the wisdom of the parliament may think fit to do therein.

Now, let the separate traders pretend what they will, it is most certain that, ever since the trade to Africa has been laid open, in 1697, all their trade, to a mere trifle, has been confined to the Gold-Coast, and that too within the influence of the company's forts and castles, otherways the natives could not have turned the slavery upon us so much as they have done, by depreciating our goods, and advancing the prices of slaves to a most intolerable degree; and how much soever the private traders may seem to slight the company's forts, that is but looking one way and rowing another, for if they speak their minds plainly, it will be found that they slight these forts merely with design (if they could compass their ends with the parliament) to get the property of them, for little or nothing, to themselves; and, if they are not stupidly infatuated, they must needs know that, if we had not had any forts on that coast all this time, the natives durst not have traded either with the English Company or separate traders; yea, and supposing the separate traders pretended merit, upon account of their exportations, were as real as they would make the world believe it is, yet still, even that same is owing to the foundation which the company have laid, for "*facile est inventis addere*" and a dwarf standing upon a giant's shoulders ought not to look

look down with scorn, and forget who it is that supports him from falling to the ground.

As to any trade that the separate traders pretend to have had on the Quaqua, Callabar, or Angola Coasts, where the company have no forts, there is too much ground to suspect that the most of their expeditions along these coasts deserved some other name*.

That the separate traders exports, and the numbers of Negroes carried by them to the plantations, are not the same as they pretend, is already, in the first chapter of this Third Part, made evident to a demonstration. But whatever their exports may have been, it can easily be demonstrated that, if all the exports to Africa, since the trade was laid open in 1697, had been under one entire interest and uniform exclusive management, at least the same numbers of Negroes might have been purchased that really have been, and, instead of 100,000*l.* value directly returned of African produce, such as gold, &c. since that time, these returns might probably have amounted to 8 or 900,000*l.* at least; so that it may be truly said, that the nation has lost so much by not having the trade settled on a fixed and solid constitution all this time. Which will appear to be no groundless suggestion, if it be considered what the company's imports of gold, &c. have been, when they had the trade exclusive.

And, as a farther proof of the company's having managed that trade to a national advantage, while they had it exclusive, before the Revolution, the chief inhabitants of the island of Jamaica, having, in the year 1688, resolved to address the King, in relation to the settling of the Spanish

* Vide the Second Part of these Reflections.

Spanish assiento in that island, took occasion, by the by, to enumerate and extol the many and singular advantages which the Royal African Company's trade, and importation of Negroes, had produced to all the planters and other inhabitants of that island in general; as is particularly expressed in a certificate given under their hands at Jamaica, April 12, 1688, which certificate was presented and read in council, before the late King and Queen, and was signed by the several persons after-named, viz.

Hend. Molefworth,	F. Fuller,
Sam. Bernard,	Sam. Barry,
John White,	Edw. Yeomans,
Tho. Freeman,	James Walker,
Whitgult Ailmer,	E. Staynoon,
Tho. Aiscough,	William Hutchinson,
Nich. Phillpott,	JOHN HEATHCOTE
Anth. Swymmer,	James Bradshaw,
Simon Musgrave,	Charles Sadler,
John Towers,	CHARLES KNIGHT,
Will. Francis Hall,	Edmund Rives,
Jona. Wood,	Sam. Lewis,
Lancelot Taltot,	Richard Scott,
James Risbye,	James Banister,
Robert Phillips,	Francis Blackmore,
Thomas Nutteel,	John Mohun,
William Pulford,	Thomas Clarke,
Joseph Knapman,	Samuel Foxley,
Thomas Trapham,	Thomas Grey,
William Puckle,	James Goddard,
Richard Slinger,	William Stevens,
Henry Cake,	William Scarlet,
Auster Head,	Philip Harris,
T. Willson,	Edward Pufdy,

Jof.

Jos. Decosta,
Isaac Cotinho,
David Alberry,
Fulk Rose,
Edward Broughton,
John Gomerfall,
Jos. Serjeant,
Thomas Pepys,
RICHARD LLOYD,
Richard Morfe,
Joseph Bedoe,
Philip Jennings,
James Prinreek,
Solomon Hell,
John Smart,
Na. Stroughton,

Will. Mingham,
Jos. Jennings,
Philip Gower,
Peter Norman,
Sam. Jones,
John Wright,
SAM. KNIGHT,
Edward Daniel,
Charles Penhallow,
Francis Hanson,
Henry Ward,
Walter Ruding,
Smith Kettle,
Edward Brooke,
Mosest. Defurun. Cardosa,
Abram Gomez Porte.

By all which it is evidently demonstrated, that the Royal African Company have been both the real founders and preservers of the African trade to this nation.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Several arguments against settling the trade to Africa in any of the open methods proposed by the separate traders, together with some proposals for settling the same, by act of parliament, upon the foot of an exclusive joint-stock, as being, for many pregnant reasons, conceived to be the only constitution which can properly be adapted to the nature and peculiar circumstances of that trade, so as to preserve and carry it on to a national advantage.

IT is most certain, that a constitution may be very well suited to one branch of foreign trade, which can never be properly adapted to the nature and circumstances of another trade, that is unavoidably attended with quite different circumstances, and consequently must require a different constitution, and different rules of management.

Some years ago, nothing could please the separate traders but an open trade to Africa, without any method or regulation at all; but sad experience having convinced both themselves and others of the folly of that method, they have been, these two years past, pleading for a regulated open trade, upon the foot of the Turkey Company's constitution; but being made to understand, by the arguments published on behalf of the Royal African Company, that (beside the vast disparity that is between the circumstances of the trade to Africa and that to Turkey) such a constitution as that of the Turkey Company would not
suit

suit with their other desires, and would even exclude the far greater part of their own number from the privilege of trading thither, they fly thus from one constitution to another, without considering the true nature of things, and seem to fix now, at last, on the constitution of the Russia Company, as a model of what they would be at; which (if obtained) would labour under the following difficulties, with many more too tedious to be here narrated.

I. The nature and circumstances of the African trade is as far different from that of the Russia trade, as it is from that of our trades to Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, &c. and in short, no regulated company, without an exclusion and a joint-stock, was ever established here, or elsewhere, except for trading to places where the nation's interest and merchant's grievances are, or can be conveniently represented and redressed, by ambassadors or other publick ministers; and no other nation in the world (besides England) ever attempted trading to Africa, otherwise than by an exclusive joint-stock, except the Portugueze, whose forts and interest on the Gold-Coast have, by that means only, fallen a sacrifice to the Dutch, who make them now pay 25 per cent. for a permission to trade thither; which are positive points of fact, that cannot be denied by the separate traders themselves.

II. As forts and settlements are acknowledged to be absolutely necessary for the preservation and improvement of the African trade, so it would be of very dangerous consequence to trust the maintenance, preservation, and needful reparations of these (besides innumerable other expences, always
I neces-

necessary to answer the exigencies and many unexpected emergencies which do, and must frequently happen) to such precarious and uncertain funds as must depend wholly upon the voluntary and contingent contributions of a very uncertain number of persons, of separate interests, and trading at pleasure, according as they happen to be either gainers or losers by the trade.

III. While the trade to Africa is carried on, by any open method whatsoever, it is not humanely conceivable how to manage matters so, but that the advantage of the trade must lie on the side of the natives, and they will keep the slavery on us, as at present they do, by depreciating our woollen and other manufactures, and not only keeping up, but also advancing the prices of Negroes and other African productions to a most intolerable degree, the former of which is justly the complaint of this nation, and the latter is the occasion of the several petitions from the plantations, now under consideration of the honourable House of Commons, for redress.

IV. No person or persons, of any tolerable reputation or capacity, can ever be prevailed upon to go and reside in parts so remote, where the climate is so contagious, upon such small encouragements as the scheme proposed by the separate traders can admit of; yea, supposing such could be found, yet, having neither sufficient credit there, nor a discretionary power to launch out sums of money or quantities of goods upon needful occasions, but only to attend their posts, and receive their poor yearly salaries, the Dutch, French, and other competitors, knowing the depth of their purses, might easily take such measures with the natives as would quickly supplant the British interest

terest there, and oblige the natives to have no manner of dealing with us; which, of course, would unavoidably render the forts and settlements to be of no real use, and consequently be abandoned, and the trade as irrecoverably lost to the nation as the Spice-Islands in the East-Indies.

V. Upon the foot of any regulated open trade, where all persons are left to their liberty of trading or not trading, as they please, no imaginable, real, national security can be given, either for the exportation of certain quantities of manufactures and merchandize, or for making the needful contributions for answering the aforesaid ends, or for the importation of sufficient numbers of Negroes to the plantations, at certain moderate rates.

VI. In the method of an open trade, upon any regulated foot whatsoever, it is impossible to make any advantageous contract, or settle the assiento for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with any considerable numbers of Negroes, at certain and determinate prices, which can be instantly demonstrated, if required; and the many positive arguments for settling the African trade, on the foot of an exclusive joint-stock, are so plainly and fully stated in the 6th chapter of the First Part of these Reflections, that it is needless to repeat them here again.

All which weighty considerations may (it is humbly hoped) be sufficient motives to induce the parliament to settle the trade to Africa, now, upon the foot of one or other of the two following schemes, as the only suitable means for preserving and improving that trade, and supporting thousands of people, who, of course, must be ruined without it.

THE FIRST SCHEME.

I. **T**HAT the present Royal African Company be, by act of parliament, established, exclusive of all others, in their trade, from the Equinoctial Line northward, which is 23 degrees north latitude.

II. That they be obliged, by such establishment, to raise a stock, such as the parliament shall judge sufficient, for carrying on, preserving and improving that part of the trade to the utmost.

III. That all the rest of the coast of Africa, from the Line southward (being upwards of 35 degrees latitude) be open to all her Majesty's subjects, for trading thither, in such manner, and under such regulations, as the wisdom of the parliament shall think fit, without their being obliged to pay the present 10 per cent. duty, or any part thereof, or any other acknowledgment whatsoever, to the company.

But if the wisdom of the parliament shall think it more advantageous to the nation, to have the trade of all the coast that is comprehended within the limits of the company's charter carried on by one exclusive company, upon the foot of a general national subscription, the following scheme is, in that case, humbly proposed :

THE SECOND SCHEME.

I. **T**HAT the forts and settlements of the present Royal African Company (commonly called their dead-stock) which, for the encouragement of subscribers, are estimated by them
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at 150,000*l.* only (though, all circumstances considered, they stood the company in more than treble that sum) be declared to be the first article of that general subscription, at the aforesaid valuation of 150,000*l.* as being absolutely necessary for the preservation of the trade.

II. That, upon the foundation of the aforesaid forts and settlements (estimated as above) there be a general subscription taken, for such sums as the wisdom of the parliament shall judge sufficient for carrying on and improving the said whole trade, by a capital joint-stock, exclusive as aforesaid.

III. That the said exclusive company be obliged to export yearly, from Great-Britain, to the amount of 100,000*l.* value, in manufactures and other merchandize.

IV. That if, at any time, there shall happen to be any complaint, or complaints, from any of the plantations, in relation to the scarcity or high prices of Negroes, the said company may, in such case, be subjected to any expedient that her Majesty in council, or the parliament, shall think fit to direct and appoint, for satisfying all the just desires of the planters.

V. That the aforesaid 150,000*l.* being the present company's interest in the said general subscription, together with their quick-stock (all necessary charges deducted) be subjected, by the parliament, to the discharge of the said present company's debts, in the first place, and then the overplus to the adventurers.

The alternative of the aforesaid two schemes seems (according to my apprehension) to be so fairly, equally, and impartially calculated, with respect to the interest of all parties immediately

concerned, and the general interest of the whole kingdom, and plantations thereunto belonging, that (with all the penetration of thought that I am master of) I cannot possibly foresee any material or reasonable objection that can be urged against the same, other than those clamorous, empty and frivolous suggestions that have been, all along, injuriously propagated by the separate traders, in relation to a pretended monopolizing and stock-jobbing trade, which, to any reasonable man's satisfaction, are sufficiently obviated in the 7th chapter of the First Part of these Reflections.

But if, after all the overtures and considerations that have been, or can be offered, it should happen to be resolved, that "*delenda est Carthago*," and that an open trade to Africa, in the method of a regulated company, should be the word, then the following considerations and difficulties would naturally occur.

It is already acknowledged, and agreed to by all parties, that forts and settlements are absolutely necessary, both for the preservation and improvement of the African trade.

It is also known, that upon the publick faith of an exclusive charter in 1672 (which was then reckoned to be an indubitable security) the Royal African Company were induced to launch out vast sums of money, from time to time, in the purchasing, building, maintaining and repairing the said forts and settlements, at a very great charge and continued expence, for many years together, ever since, and have therefore the sole right of property and possession of the same.

Yea, though any such charter had never been granted, yet still the present company have a just, legal, and unquestionable right to the property,
pos-

possession, and sole benefit and advantage of these forts and settlements, as being in the actual and uninterrupted possession of them all along, and as having all the solemnities that the law requires, in any such case; for they never so much as set up a standard, and much less built a fort or established a factory, on any part of the coast of Africa, without the solemn suffrage and consent of the native proprietors, for which they always paid certain *dashees*, or presents, in the nature of fines, as also a yearly ground-rent for the same, which they still pay to this hour.

These propositions being premised, the several following scruples and queries will naturally arise.

1. Whether the present company may be willing to part with the property and possession of these forts and settlements, which cost them so dear, otherwise than upon such conditions as they have already proposed?

2. In case they should not be willing to part with these forts and settlements, otherwise than as *aforesaid*, how far they may be compelled, by the parliament, to part with them, for a suitable equivalent?

3. In case they should be compelled to part with them for an equivalent, by what rule that equivalent should be computed, adjusted and liquidated to a certain determinate sum? And

4. Who should be obliged to the payment of any equivalent sum so liquidated?

To the first of these queries the company can best give a solution, whenever they think it proper for them to impart their minds on that head.

As to the second query, it would be presumptuous to say that there can be any limits set to the power of parliaments, other than what are consistent with their own wisdom, and the common rules of equity and justice, which, no doubt, they will carefully observe in this case, as well as in all other respects whatsoever. And so I take it for granted, that if, upon any supposed national account, they should think fit to oblige the present company to part with the property of these forts and settlements, it would be upon such a foot as would fully compensate those advantages which the company might reasonably hope to have reaped from the produce of that right of property, if allowed to improve it in their own method; or at least would make up all their losses and disbursements in acquiring, improving and maintaining that right.

Then, as to the liquidation of an equivalent for these forts and settlements, it is to be considered, that though the company have already, for the encouragement of subscribers to a new joint-stock, upon the foot of an exclusive parliamentary constitution, estimated the said forts and settlements at so low a value as 150,000*l.* yet, if the motive or condition of that low estimation be not complied with, and that, through the want of such a constitution, they must lose all hopes, both of retrieving their great losses already sustained, and of reaping any advantage from the foundation which they have laid, they are still where they were, and may very justly and equitably insist upon being either allowed to enjoy the sole right, property, possession, benefit and advantage of these forts and settlements, by virtue of their acquired right from the native proprietors, and their own chargeable

chargeable improvements thereof, or otherwise to have such an equivalent for the same as may satisfy all their just debts, and refund all the money advanced and lost by them in that trade, together with the interest thereof; which three articles will, upon a just computation, amount to a sum very little short of a million sterling. But still it ought to lie upon the company to make that appear.

Nor can this rule of computing and liquidating an equivalent, for the Royal African Company's quick and dead stock, be thought unreasonable, when it is considered that it is the very same rule by which the equivalent paid to the late Indian and African Company of Scotland was stated and liquidated, though they had no such forts and settlements in their possession at the time of their dissolution; and as I am far from repining at that company's having got such an equivalent, or thinking that they got any more than their right justly entitled them to have got, so it is reasonable to hope that the wisdom and justice of the parliament will never be prevailed upon to oblige this company to part with their right of property and possession, otherwise than with their own consent, or upon the foot of an equivalent to be stated by the aforesaid rule; and were they to assign their interest and possession to the Dutch, Portuguese, or any other foreign nation, it is not improbable but that they might come to a much better market.

Supposing then, that a certain sum were stated and liquidated, in manner aforesaid, as an equivalent for the said forts and settlements, it still remains to be considered, Who should pay that sum to the present company? Not the govern-

ment (I suppose) for many reasons that I will not pretend to give an account of. It naturally then follows, that whoever are to have the benefit of this supposed new constitution, by trading separately to Africa, must pay for these forts and settlements; but who these are, or may be, it is hard to tell, because every man (upon the supposition of such a free constitution) is at his liberty to trade, or not to trade, as he thinks fit, and until he trade, he cannot be obliged to pay any quota of the said equivalent. And so, while the present company will be expecting a liquidation and payment of the estimated value of their forts and settlements, they may all fall to the ground, or (which is worse) into the hands of the French, Dutch, &c. for want of the needful supplies to maintain and repair them.

To say (as the separate traders have already suggested, by way of prevention) that the 10 per cent. duty, paid by them to the company, these 10 or 11 years past, ought to intitle them to a proportional share of the property of these forts and settlements, is, in effect, the same as to say, that a tenant, paying a yearly rent to his landlord, for any house, tenement or manor, according to agreement, should, at the expiration of his lease, pretend to a share of the property, in proportion to the rent that he had paid as aforesaid.

It is a constant rule, that no purchaser must be allowed the privilege of setting a price upon another person's property; for the wisest of men assures us, that "It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer." Nor is it possible for some people seemingly to slight the use or value of the African company's forts and settlements now, more than they formerly slighted the old East-India Company's

pany's forts, though at last, rather than want them, they gave 330,000*l.* for them, having only the addition of a tea-pot into the bargain. And if trading to Africa by an exclusive joint-stock be adjudged safest by the Parliament, it is odds but that some of those, who now decry that method, would be ready to take a slice of that shoulder of mutton likewise, whenever they should find it a-going; and, though 20 new experiments were tried, one after another, I am persuaded, in my mind, that the trade to Africa will be settled, at last, upon the foot of some exclusive constitution, as the most suitable to the nature of that trade.

A
R E P O R T

TO THE HONOURABLE

The COMMISSIONERS

For putting in Execution the Act, intituled

An Act for the taking, examining, and
stating the publick Accounts of the
Kingdom.

From CHARLES DAVENANT, L. L. D.

Inspector-General of the Exports and Imports.

P A R T I.

REPORT

TO THE HONOURABLE

THE COMMISSIONERS

For carrying in Execution the Act, intituled

An Act for the taking, examining and
rating the publick Accounts of the
Kingdom

By CHARLES DAVENANT, Esq.

Inspector-General of the Exports and Imports

PART I

A

REPORT

TO THE HONOURABLE

The COMMISSIONERS, &c.

PART I.

I Have received from this honourable board a precept, dated July 17, 1711, directing that I should lay before you distinct annual accounts for the ten years last, to be attested before you, on oath, of the importations and exportations of all commodities, particularly the woollen manufactures, into and out of this kingdom, to and from what places the same were exported and imported, and upon what shipping such exports and imports were made, with my observations how the balance of the trade of this kingdom stood each year, with respect to foreign parts, and the increase of freight of foreign shipping using
this

this kingdom; and whether I have suspected any short or over entries have been made of the woollen manufacture, and of what quantity, value, or any other observations I have made, relating to the trade of this kingdom

In obedience to which precept, I shall give an account of as many branches of trade as possibly can be extracted from my ledgers, from the date of the said precept to the sitting of the parliament, and, at present, shall lay before you such an account as is required, with an estimate of the first cost or value of the respective goods and merchandizes, and a state of the balance of trade for five distinct years, viz. from Christmas 1699, to Christmas 1704,

Between England	{	France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Africa, and Newfoundland.
-----------------	---	--

The shortness of time not permitting me to give you the like account of trade between England and all other countries, I have pitched upon the aforementioned trafficks, in regard they may be most the subject of debate in the House of Commons, and may most want the help of Parliament; and shall lay before you the like account of trade, from the year 1704 to the year 1709, between England and the said countries, as fast as they can possibly be dispatched.

And for as much as the great demand that has been for corn of late years, may have made some change in the general balance, I have thought it my duty also to lay before you a particular account of corn exported for 11 years, viz. from 1699 to 1710.

And, because the great payments every year made, to subsist our own troops, and to pay subsidies

subsidies to foreign Princes, as well as to carry on the East-India and Eastland trades, may have had a considerable influence in the general balance, I have thought it might be of service to annex the quantities of gold and silver exported, from the time the register was appointed, viz. anno 1695, to anno 1710.

The woollen manufacture likewise bearing so large a proportion in all the exported English product, I shall lay before you a particular account of that branch of our exportations.

And because the tin to be made by contract, viz. 1600 ton stannery weight, which, reduced into averdupois, yields 1714 ton 508 pounds, is more than is taken off by our foreign exportation and home consumption, which may tend to make that commodity become a drug abroad, and so hurt the kingdom, I have thought it might be useful to give you the exports thereof, from 1699 to 1710, in the 10 distinct years.

The long war these kingdoms have carried on, and no treaty of commerce having been settled during the short interval of peace, must needs have made great alterations in the channel of trade; and therefore I thought it would be a satisfaction to this honourable board, and give some light into the present condition of trade (where we have lost and where we have gained, and how the balance may probably now stand, which I perceive to be the scope and intention of your precept) if I could lay before you any account of our dealings with the rest of the commercial world before the war, when trade, for some years at least, had gone in a settled channel. In order to this, all possible enquiries have been made at the Custom-house for an abstract of the exports and imports, for one or two years before the commencement of the war,

but

but I cannot find any such abstract was kept. I hoped at least to have been able to give you an account of the importations of wines and brandies, for some years before the war, which were so large a part of our trade with France, because there has been a long time an office at the Custom-house particularly appointed to compute the duties upon those goods, but upon search no register is left of those entries, each officer having taken away his own papers; and a necessity at last appearing, to know the quantity and value of fundry goods imported into, and exported from, this kingdom, upon a motion from the House of Lords, an Examiner of the Exports and Imports was appointed, which office began in the year 1696, and was executed for some years, with great skill and industry, by my worthy predecessor Mr. Culliford, who, in posting of his ledgers, has set a valuation upon all the respective goods exported from hence, according to their current price here at home, and, in the imported goods, according to their current price abroad, by the judgment of the ablest foreign merchants, to which valuation I have kept, excepting in instances where there has been some apparent change; and upon examining it will be found, that both of us have come as near the truth as things of this nature can well be brought.

In order regularly to consider and compute the trade of England with any other country, and to form any judgment how it is like to stand hereafter, in case of peace, it would be requisite to know how it stood before the war had made such alterations in divers branches of it; but of this no trace is to be found at the Custom-house before 1688, nor afterwards, till an Inspector of the Exports and Imports was appointed, except what was laid before the Lords, from the year 1692

to 1695 inclusive; whereof I can procure but imperfect copies.

Out of the voluminous books of entries remaining in the Custom-house, to make such an abstract for three or four years, as might let us into the quantity and value of goods exported and imported between us and the nations with whom we deal, would be the work of more than two years, though several additional hands should be employed. All the light I have been able to gain into the transactions of past times, relating to the exports and imports, is from a manuscript remaining in the Custom-house, which contains an abstract drawn out almost in the same form as the ledgers of my office are now kept, with the then valuations of all the commodities, but it only gives an account of the several goods and merchandizes, of the growth of England, exported out of the city of London, and an account of the several goods and merchandizes that were imported into the said city, from Michaelmas 1662 to Michaelmas 1663, and from Michaelmas 1668 to Michaelmas 1669, but it takes no notice of what we properly call the re-exports, viz. foreign goods and plantation goods carried to other countries by certificate, in time, or out of time, whereof consideration should be had in stating the balance between two kingdoms. It is to be wished the like abstract (which appears to me an authentick copy of what had been offered to the House of Commons, but in what year I cannot find) could be obtained of the out-ports for the said two years, but it is not come to me; however, the proportion which the out-ports generally bear to London being known, I shall be able to make from this abstract several observations that may be useful, relating to the
present

present posture of our trade: from thence you will have the total value of all goods exported from the city of London, to the several kingdoms and countries, and the total value of all goods imported into the city of London for the two years aforesaid; also the revenues of the customs in the several ports of England for one year, from Michaelmas 1676 to Michaelmas 1677, as to the quantities of goods contained in this account. I believe they may have been fairly extracted from the old entry-books of the Custom-house, but, as to the valuation set upon the said goods, I have much reason to suspect the truth thereof, concerning which I shall make some observations in the proper places; but, such as it is, I have thought it might be for the service and satisfaction of this board to annex to this report a copy of the said manuscript; and, in regard I shall have a frequent occasion to resort to it, I shall premise, once for all, that the duty of customs for the port of London bear proportion to the duty of customs in the out-ports, as 1,268,095*l.* is to 346,081*l.* viz. about 3-4ths, according to which the imports and exports may be computed.

And being before this honourable board upon oath, and looking upon myself, by the nature of my office, bound to act impartially between the crown and the merchants, and obliged to use my utmost endeavours, as well to promote the general good of trade as the increase of her Majesty's revenue, in what I have to say you shall find the utmost sincerity, as far as my knowledge reaches; where I find the duties so high as to cramp trade and hurt the kingdom, I shall not fail to remark it to you in the series of this report, and shall do the like where there seems a probability that the merchandize

merchandize will bear higher impositions, since nothing can more tend to increase our foreign and domestick trade, and, in reality, to advance the Queen's revenue, than that the burthen should be so laid as at least to be tolerable to the whole.

I shall proceed to shew upon what terms England stands in trade with the forementioned countries, all along taking notice, where it is needful, of the exports and imports of the years 1662 and 1668, and comparing them with the times from when my own accounts begin and are to end. And first, as to the trade

Between England and France.

		£.	s.	d.
Before the war,	from Mich.	{ imports	647706	16 0
	1662, to			
	Mich. 1663,	{ exports	375065	6 0
	imports exceed the exports		272641	10 0
	from Mich.	{ imports	541583	16 0
	1668, to			
	Mich. 1669.	{ exports	108699	4 0
	imports exceed the exports		432884	12 0

Of this over-balance France had upon us, I shall have occasion to speak further by and by, and, in the mean while, shall observe, that our two most valuable and national articles, in those

two years, were lead and the woollen manufactures.

From Mich.	{	Lead, 21,757	}	£.	s.	d.
1662, to		foder, at 11 l.		239327	0	0
		per foder				
Mich. 1663.	{	Woollen ma-	}	96774	0	0
Exports		nufacture				

Total of both 336101 0 0

From Mich.	{	Lead, 1328	}			
1668, to		foder, at 11 l.		14608	0	0
		per foder				
Mich. 1669.	{	Woollen ma-	}	68521	17	0
Exports		nufacture				

Total of both 83129 17 0

Note, I can give no account how it came to pass, that our exportations of lead were so large in the year 1662, unless (as I have been informed) there was an extraordinary call for it on account of the French King's buildings, and for a store of bullets; and, in that case, there must have been a great old stock lying by in our kingdom, for the annual product of that metal will not come to the aforesaid quantity, over and above our own consumption.

Of the woollen manufactures, the	}	£.	s.	d.
value of the long, short, and		22740	0	0
Spanish cloths, in the year,				
from 1662 to 1663, was —				
In the year, from 1668 to 1669		16602	0	0

The

The commodities most profitable to France, imported from thence hither, were linnens, French wines, brandies, wrought filk, ordinary paper, and kid-skins, whereof I shall give an account in the distinct articles.

		£.	s.	d.
From Mich. 1662 to Mich. 1663. Imports	Linnen — — — —	183442	1	0
	French wine, 7465 tun —	268740	0	0
	Wrought filk, 3684 pounds	30789	0	0
	Ordinary paper, 116,074 } reams — — — — }	38691	0	0
	Brandy, 1059 tun — —	47655	0	0
	Kid-skins, 6592 hundred	21131	10	0
	Total	590448	11	0
From Mich. 1668 to Mich. 1669. Imports	Linnen — — — —	183890	19	0
	French wines, 5726 tun	206136	0	0
	Wrought filk, 6408 pounds	14418	0	0
	Ordinary paper, 52,131 } reams — — — — }	50710	6	8
	Brandy, 333 tun — —	19985	0	0
	Kid-skins, 4817 hundred	15665	5	0
	Total	490805	10	8

I shall now proceed to shew how trade stood between England and France, from Michaelmas 1698, to Christmas 1712, during all which time there was some sort of intercourse between the two kingdoms; and this account comprehends the out-ports as well as London.

A comparison of the estimate of the imports and exports for the said period of time, to and from France.

Imports in the following years and quarter.		Estimate		Excess		Exports in the following years and quarter.		Estimate		Excess	
		£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.			£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
From Mich. 1698, } to Christ. 1698 }		19904	30	551	185	From Mich. 1698, } to Christ. 1698 }		19352	47		
From Christ. { 1698 } 1699 } 1700 } 1701 }	1699	76272	44 $\frac{1}{2}$			From Christ. { 1698 } 1699 } 1700 } 1701 }	1699	103961	133 $\frac{1}{2}$	27689	811
	1700	94641	51 $\frac{1}{4}$				1700	287049	179 $\frac{1}{4}$	192408	127 $\frac{1}{2}$
	1701	123940	09				1701	213004	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	89064	24 $\frac{1}{2}$
	1702	76471	93	63633	72 $\frac{1}{4}$		1702	12838	20 $\frac{1}{4}$		
Total		391229	26 $\frac{1}{4}$	64185	57 $\frac{1}{4}$	Total		636206	010	309162	311
						The imports exceed the exports					
						2449761813 $\frac{1}{4}$					
						The					

Report to the Commissioners for Stating the Publick Accounts.

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The particulars of the importations and exportations to and from France, will be found in the account annexed: I shall take no notice of the broken quarter, but will begin from Christmas 1698, to Christmas 1702, viz.

Imports from Chriff. 1698, to
Chriff. 1699.

	£.	s.	d.
Linnen	—	—	1 ¼
Paper ordinary	—	—	0
Wine	—	—	7
Brandy	—	—	4
Kid-fkins	—	—	0
Total	54505	13	0 ¼

Exports from Chriff. 1698, to
Chriff. 1699.

	£.	s.	d.
Woollen manufac- ture	—	—	0
Lead	—	—	9 ½
Total	28423	14	9 ½

Imports

Report to the Commissioners for Stating the Publick Accounts.

Imports from Christ. 1699, to
Christ. 1700.

	£.	s.	d.
Linnen	—	—	—
Paper ordinary	—	—	—
Wine	—	—	—
Brandy	—	—	—
Kid-skins	—	—	—
Total	67874	14	6 $\frac{3}{4}$

Exports from Christ. 1699, to
Christ. 1700.

	£.	s.	d.
Woollen manufac- ture	47151	5	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Lead	22939	17	9

Total 70091 3 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

Imports

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Imports from Chrif. 1700, to
Chrif. 1701.

	£.	s.	d.
Linnen	—	—	5
Paper ordinary	—	—	4½
Wine	—	—	8
Brandy	—	—	1¼
Kid-fkins	—	—	0½
Total	84226	12	7¼

Exports from Chrif. 1700, to
Chrif. 1701.

	£.	s.	d.
Woollen manufac- ture	27774	7	11½
Lead	—	—	3
Total	52768	18	2½

Imports

Report to the Commissioners for stating the Publick Accounts.

Imports from Christ. 1701, to
to Christ. 1702.

	£.	s.	d.
Linnen	—	—	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Paper ordinary	—	—	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wine	—	—	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Brandy	—	—	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Kid-skins	—	—	0
Total	47896	12	9 $\frac{1}{4}$

Exports from Christ. 1701, to
Christ. 1702.

	£.	s.	d.
Woollen manufac- ture	1580	6	9
Lead	—	—	3
	—	—	—
Total	2266	5	0

In

In the instance of France, as well as in other countries to which we deal, whereof I shall endeavour to state the trade, it will be proper I should give an account of the value of our exported cloth, viz.

Cloths { long
Spanish } in a distinct article,
short

that this honourable board may see how that particular branch of our exportation rises or falls.

				£.	s.	d.				
From Christ.	{	1698	to Christ.	{	1699	cloths to the value of	{	8634	15	0
		1699			1700			12057	2	6
		1700			1701			3136	1	10
		1701			1702			182	10	0
Total								24010	9	4

First, From the foregoing accounts, this honourable board will observe, that before the war the dealings between the two kingdoms were very considerable to what they were during the four years of peace.

Secondly, That in 1662 and 1668, the balance between the exports and imports was very much on their side; that, in the four last years of our trade thither, we over-balanced them.

Thirdly, That the bulk of trade between both kingdoms consisted of but a few particulars.

Fourthly, That in the four years trade (such as it was) England had what is commonly called an over-balance of 244,976*l*.

It

It has never been popular to lay down, that England was not a great loser by the French trade; but, in enquiries of this kind, truth should be more hunted after than popularity, and I shall endeavour to set this matter in as true a light as the nature of it will admit of, and which lies so obscure for want of knowing right of matter of fact. As to the importations and exportations of commodities between the respective kingdoms, so far is beyond contradiction, that all the while England flourished and grew rich by an extended traffick (which was by Queen Elizabeth's reign, down to the year 1640) that the two countries did not load one another with prohibitions of, or high duties upon, each other's product or manufactures, which that country would certainly have done that had found itself any considerable loser by their mutual dealings, which must have been seen and felt in so long a tract of time; so that, during this space, it is rather to be presumed both kingdoms reciprocally found their account by the commerce that was between them. During the aforementioned period, the strength and power of France was not become formidable, and the prodigious growth of the House of Austria was what employed all our fears; but, as you know, about the year 1660, the face of affairs in Europe changed, the Spanish monarchy was declined, and France became the rising empire.

And it rose so fast as to beget just apprehensions to England for our future safety. In the mean while several good patriots, perceiving the court then fatally running into French interest and measures, and finding it would be difficult to engage the people (newly come out of a civil war) to follow and join with them in more national councils, by speculations merely political, concerning the
pro-

progreſs of the French arms and power, they thought the beſt courſe to awaken Engliſhmen was to alarm them about the danger they were in to loſe their trade, and, for this reaſon, nothing was ſo common as to cry, “ that England was undone by the prodigious over-balance the French had upon us.” To this purpoſe divers eſtimates were delivered to King Charles II. to the committees of Council, and to the Houſe of Commons, and ſometimes the court gave in to this matter. When great ſums of money were to be aſked in parliament to carry on a vigorous war againſt France, this over-balance was made uſe of maliciously, by ſome who had a mind to diſturb and defame the government.

Whatever over-balance France in particular might have upon us, between the imports from thence and our exports thither (and admit this over-balance to have continued a long time) it is evident, beyond all diſpute, that England was every year a gainer in its univerſal trade; whereof nothing can be a ſtronger proof than the Mint-accounts, bullion being the true ſuperlucration in foreign traffick, and plenty of bullion occaſioning a great coinage. And from the time it has been ſuggeſted we carried on ſuch a laſting and deſtructive trade with France, viz. from 1659 to the 21ſt of Dec. 1688, the Mint had full employment, ſince it appears from the Mint-rolls, that there was coined at this period of this time,

			£.	s.	d.
In gold	---	---	6274858	1	0
In ſilver	---	---	4203628	6	2
			10478486	7	2

If

If England has suffered such a drain as the loss of a million per ann. by its dealings with one single country, there could not have been such an immense coinage in those years, nor could the bullion we received from Spain, returned as the over-balance we had in trade with the Spaniards, have answered and made good such a constant issue; from whence follows, that this balance against us of a million yearly, which has been asserted in several books, and in memorials laid before the King and Council, and both Houses of Parliament, must have been chimerical, for by-ends advanced by some, and ignorantly followed by others. But in case of a general peace (whensoever it shall happen) it is easy to be foreseen this dispute will always last. They who may desire the continuation of the war, or whose dealings to other countries may lead them to obstruct all sorts of traffick with France, will affirm such an over-balance: they who understand trade in general, and who know there can be no sound peace between countries when there is not a fair commercial treaty, will deny it; from whence future animosities and breaches may possibly arise. It is therefore humbly proposed, that this honourable board will direct their precept to the commissioners of her Majesty's customs, to lay before you the book of entries, as well for the out-ports as the port of London, from the year 1668 to 1688; from which books, in no long tract of time, and at no great expence, an extract of all the exports and imports between both kingdoms may be made, for as many of those years as you in your wisdom shall judge necessary.

From any authentick memorial I could ever see, relating to the loss or gain by this traffick, it does not appear that they who argued either way
went

went on foundations to be relied on. Conjectures and computations are commonly to be answered by other conjectures and computations perhaps as plausible; but demonstrations from matter of fact (such as the proposed extracts from the original entries must be) would put a final end to this dispute, which, for near 30 years together, did occasion long and warm debates in parliament.

A representation to the late King, from the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, bearing date Dec. 23, 1697, asserts, that the French over-balanced us in commerce about a million per ann. and they mention a computation of one year, where the exportations from thence hither are said to amount to 1,136,150*l.* and our exportations thither but to 171,021*l.* It is likewise there laid down, that there were imported from thence

			£.
Silks to the value of	—	—	300000
Linnens to the value of	—	—	500700
Wine and brandies to the value of			217000
	Total		1017700

But in the two years whereof I have an account, there are no such large importations. They likewise say, that ann. 1685 there was 20,000 tun of wine and 6000 tun of brandy imported, and from ann. 1688 to ann. 1689, upwards of 20,000 tun of wine and about 6000 tun of brandy. As to the last year, the prospect of an approaching long war might make our merchants very much enlarge their investments from thence; as to the other instances, it does not appear how the facts are grounded, but most certain it is, that our exportations to France never amounted to near a million.

million. It is likewise to be doubted, that the computations delivered to the late King in 1697 were not right, and mistaken either in the quantity or value of the goods, and that ancient errors and former prejudices were rather followed than truth consulted, which would still appear more manifestly, if the old books of entries were examined.

So far is easy to trace, that the accounts relating to the imports from France hither were not fairly stated, but rather calculated to please those who did not like that trade, than to investigate the truth; for I observe, in the valuation of wines and brandies in that account now laid before you, and might be extracted from accounts laid before King Charles II. and the parliament, about the year 1680, the wines are valued at 36*l.* per tun, and the brandies at 45*l.* per tun, according to which, in the balance between the exports and imports of both kingdoms, the amount of the wine and brandy came to

			£.
Anno 1668	{	Wine	— 206136
to 1669		Brandy	— 19985
Total			226121

In which account it is manifest that those liquors are valued as the retailers sold them by the quart in London, and including the prime cost, commission, freight, customs, merchants and retailers gain.

Whereas, in stating the balance between two countries, the prime cost only in the respective countries should be calculated.

Now it is notorious, that about that time the prime cost of wine was about 8*l.* per tun, and of brandy

brandy about 9*l.* per tun, in which valuations I appeal to all the old experienced merchants who formerly dealt to France; and, according to this valuation, in stating the balance the amount will be

					£.
Wine	—	—	—	—	45808
Brandy	—	—	—	—	2977
				Total	48785
Whereas the other computation is	—				226121
				Difference	177336

Mr. Culliford has indeed valued wines and brandies higher for the year 1698 to 1699, and so downwards, but that might proceed from scarcity of the commodity itself upon the spot, which rendered the prime cost dearer, or other accidents; whereas peace, and a number of hands to cultivate the vineyards, will probably bring wines and brandies to their old price.

There is the same wrong valuation in the instance of ordinary paper, viz.

					£.
Ann. 1668 to 1669.	{	Paper imported, 152,131 reams,			
		which is valued at 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per ream,			
		and amounts to	—	—	50710
Ann. 1668 to 1669.	{	Whereas, if paper were valued at			
		the prime cost, as it is in my books,			
		the amount of such a quantity			26622
		would be but	—	—	
				Difference	24088

which having been a large importation, did also make a great difference in the balance.

In

In 1668 to 1669, I find likewise a higher value set upon the linnens than my books bear, and indeed upon most commodities of French growth or manufacture, as vinegar, rape, salt, rozin, prunes, turpentine, anniseeds, &c. exceeding probability of truth, whether out of ignorance, or affectation of popularity, this honourable board will be the best judges, if they are pleased to call for the representations concerning the French trade, which, from time to time, have been laid before the House of Commons; whereas, in the value of our own exports, comparing my books with the computations of 1668, I find them pretty near one another, allowing for the difference of time between 1668 and 1711: therefore the French trade having been set in so false a light, it is no wonder that, for 40 years together, we have had such notions of an over-balance upon us, which might reasonably provoke the parliament so often to desire a prohibition of all commodities of French growth and manufacture. By the proceedings between England and France, from 1660 to 1668, it looks as if both countries were jealous that each gained upon the other in their traffick, and so endeavoured each to secure itself, by charging the other's importations with high duties, some of them tantamount to prohibitions, wherein the French seem to have been the aggressors; which their wise state would hardly have done, if they had been such gainers in the balance as is pretended, since retaliation was certainly to follow some time or other. Before the year 1660, they had laid a duty of 50 sols per ton upon English shipping; and the aforementioned report takes notice, the French King, ann. 1654, 1660, 1664, and 1667, had increased the duties on our woollen manufacture, our lead, tin, coals, tobacco, sugar, fish,

fish, and other commodities, and restrained the importation of our woollen goods to his ports of Calais and Dieppe, and other commodities to some other inconvenient ports; and in 1686 he laid high impositions on all our East-India goods sent thither, and restrained their importation to select ports. We retaliated in 1660, by our act for encouraging and encreasing shipping and navigation, which secures our trade not only from the encroachment of France, but of other countries; there we lay 5s. upon their tonnage till they take off the 50 sols upon ours. In 1668 we laid a new imposition upon their wines and brandies for two years: in 1670 new duties were laid upon their wines and vinegar for eight years: in 1667 an act passed to prohibit French wine, vinegar, brandy, linnen-cloths, silks, salt, paper, &c. for three years: in 1678 an additional duty was laid upon all wines; most of which duties were continued to 1688.

I shall not meddle with what has been done in both kingdoms since the year 1688, in regard it is fresh in your memories, and shall only take notice, that the duties are so high as to hinder a free trade (those upon our woollen manufacture especially) being in France at least 50 per cent. which is worse than a total prohibition.

England, without doubt, was wanting to its own interest in the seven or eight first years of King Charles the second's reign, in not retaliating, time enough, with high duties laid upon their goods, the high impositions they had laid upon our woollen manufactures, and other of our product. If we had so proceeded, trade would have been upon an equal foot between us; and from the best view I have been able to make in a matter so intricate, and at such a distance of time, I

am rather inclined to think the over-balance would have been on our side. But from whence this supine negligence took its rise, I shall leave to your own considerations.

You see that in the year 1699 there is an appearance of an over-balance on the French side, and their imports hither exceeded our exports thither 432,884*l*. but whether this was all loss to England, and a gain to France, is a great question.

By a medium of three years, from 1699 to 1702 inclusive, the exports of England to Holland exceed the imports from thence hither 1,372,085*l*. per ann. and yet it cannot from thence be argued, that England got and Holland lost all this money, for if so, at this instant (the like excess in traffick going on every year to this time) they would be exceeding poor by their trade with us, and we should be grown very rich, which few take to be the case. But admit that heretofore we lost by our trade with France as much as the most extravagant computations amount to, we shall have a fair opportunity, whenever a peace comes, to set this matter right, and to prevent such a mischief for the future, in regard the channel of trade throughout Europe has, this last 20 years, received such considerable alterations.

This long war has brought several of the commodities that chiefly swell the French importations hither into disuse, or we are fallen into a track of taking goods serving to the same purpose from other countries, or we ourselves have attained to a good manufacture of those goods, of all which I shall give some particular instances.

1st, As to linnens, which heretofore has been reckoned so large an importation, and such a weight against us in the general balance, as to our traffick with France, it is evident that in this commodity trade has taken another channel, viz.

From France into Germany.

For the linnen imported from France, } £.
ann. 1688 to 1699, amounted to } 183896

And

The linnens imported from Germany, }
ann. 1668 to 1669, amounted to } 121682

Which importations of Germany linnens,
from Christmas 1699 to Christmas }
1702, at a medium of three years, } 519737.
amounted to per ann. —

From several observations I have heretofore made, it appears to me that the Germans have, for some time, changed their fabrick of linnen, but especially since the year 1688, the war then begun with France having put them upon making a commodity that might stand in the room of French linnens, which they have so much outed, that, whenever a peace comes, the French will hardly be able to retrieve it; but this will be more fully handled when the state of the German trade shall be laid before you: besides, we are come to a good manufacture of that commodity in Ireland, for by a medium of seven years, there was imported, from Christmas 1699 to Christmas 1705, 391,144 ells per ann. and the manufacture goes on since that time increasing, so that there seems no great reason to apprehend that French linnens will be hurtful to us in the balance.

2dly, As to ordinary paper, the import thereof was indeed large in the year 1699, as has been shewn before, viz. to the value of 50,710*l.* But at home we are very much improved in that manufacture, and though we are not come up to the French perfection (and never can without a linnen manufacture of our own) yet what we make and bring from other parts serves our uses, insomuch that, during the four years interval of peace, the whole importations of French ordinary paper amounted to but 7584*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*

3dly, As to kid-skins, another considerable importation in the aforesaid year 1699, either we make use of some leather of our own, for womens gloves and other purposes, in the room of French kid-skins, or we bring them from other parts, as Holland, Germany, Ireland, East-Country, Italy, Spain, Scotland, the northern countries, &c. Those imported from Holland were probably of French product, bought there, and imported here by the Dutch.

4thly, The silk manufacture is of late very much improved in England, so that, in case of a peace, such quantities of French wrought silks, as heretofore, will not probably be imported.

			£.
In the years	{ 1662 }	imported to the	{ 30789
	{ 1668 }	value of	{ 14418

		£.	s.
Whereas, in the four years and quarter	}	723	13
interval of peace, there was imported			
to the value of — — —			

But what of this rich and profitable commodity might be run during that time, comes not within my knowledge.

5thly,

5thly, As to wines and brandies, in case of a peace, this luxurious consumption, in all likelihood, will lie the heaviest upon the English in their dealings with the French, the use and expence of them having gradually increased almost every year, from 1660 downwards. To open this matter, it will be necessary for me to shew the importations into this kingdom, of wines and brandies (Rhenish excepted) from several periods of time, and from several countries.

Imports { Wines }
 { Brandies } anno 1668 to 1669.

From France.	Italy.	Spain.	Portugal.
5726 tun	Nil	6343 tun	Nil
333 tun	Nil	Nil.	Nil

From which account it appears, the general consumption of wines and brandies (Rhenish excepted) in England, in that year, was

Wines	—	12069	} tuns.
Brandy	—	333	

For the subsequent years, to the year 1668, as I have observed before, mention is made of much larger quantities imported, especially French wine and brandy, but of this I have no account; however, it is obvious the great use of those liquors came in soon after the Restoration, increasing every year, and if, in 1669, there were imported any Portugal or Italian wines, it was only as presents from abroad, and it does not appear that it was entered in the Custom-house books.

After the war, the trade in wine, as well as divers other commodities, took a different channel.

Imports { Wines } from 1699 to 1702, by a
 { Brandies } medium for three years.

From France	Italy.	Spain and Canaries.	Portugal.
1245 tun	1508 tun	9309 tun	6897 tun
118 tun	7 tun	62½ tun	20 tun

From whence appears the general consumption of wines (Rhenish excepted) in England, by a medium of three years, per ann. was

Wine	—	18915	} tuns.
Brandy	—	277½	

This honourable board will here take notice, that though little wines have been imported from France since the beginning of the first war, we have been supplied with the commodity from other places, and that our consumption thereof is increased, from 1669 to 1702, 6848 tun per ann. Since the breaking out of the first war, little brandies have been imported, in the room of which are come home made spirits, drawn from cyder, melasses, wheat, and malt, to which the common people being now accustomed, the call for French brandies will probably be less hereafter than it was in former times.

Before I close the article of wine, it may not be amiss here to take notice of the Rhenish wines. From my manuscript it appears, that formerly we did not receive this commodity directly from the Germans, but by the way of Holland, for under the head of Germany I find no Rhenish wines entered, but under the head of Holland.

In

In the years { 1662 to 1663 } Rhen. wines { 924 }
 { and } imported { 735 } tuns.
 { 1668 to 1669 }

And from the years 1699 to 1702, I find, by a medium of the said three years, from Holland and Germany, Rhenish wine imported per ann. 736 $\frac{1}{2}$ tuns.

From whence it appears, that the prohibition of French wines has not increased the consumption of Rhenish wine, as, to the best of my remembrance, was expected at that time.

In the years 1662 to 1668, several commodities were carried from hence to France, from the out-ports only, as in particular fish, viz. cod, herrings red, herrings white, and pilchards; these, with several other goods from the out-ports (if an account of them could be procured) might perhaps bring the balance to be much less against England than has been commonly suggested. During the three first years interval of peace, fish exported to France, in proportion to the other traffick we had then with that kingdom, was no contemptible article, the value whereof follows :

				£.	s.	d.
From	{ 1698 }	to	{ 1699 --- }	5062	6	9
Christ.	{ 1699 }	Christ.	{ 1700 --- }	7393	11	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	{ 1700 }		{ 1701 --- }	2279	7	4

From what has been already opened to this honourable board, it sufficiently appears what difficulty there will be to compute any sort of balance between England and France, unless we had the entries of the respective goods between the intermediate years, from 1669 to 1689; but so far may be taken for granted, that all along the

French importations increased upon us, and our exportations thither diminished, by reason of the high duties laid upon them in France, which we did not take early care (as I have observed before) to retaliate with the like impositions upon their product and manufactures, in order to put the trade upon a more equal foot between both kingdoms, but to what degree, during those 19 years, they had an over-balance upon us, does not appear; and if, in the computations from time to time laid before the publick, the English goods exported were valued at the prime cost here, and the French goods imported were valued as they were sold in London, with customs, freight, &c. upon them (which, from what I have seen, and by the best information I can get, appears to have been the case) there would be no considerable difference in the value between the merchandize we carried thither and what we brought from thence.

But here will arise a question, how far the excess between the exports and imports may be deemed a certain rule, whereby to judge whether a country gets or loses by its trade; for if it were, in the years 1662 and 1668, England did not only lose by its trade with France, but was over-balanced in its universal dealings with all the rest of the commercial world, as the following abstract from my old account plainly shews:

		£.	s.
Ann. 1662 to 1663	{ Imports	---	4016019 18
	{ Exports	---	2022812 4
The exports exceed the imports			1993207 14
Ann. 1668 to 1669	{ Imports	---	4196139 17
	{ Exports	---	2063274 19
The imports exceed the exports			2132864 18

Here

Here you may please to observe, what an appearance there is of an excess against us all the world over those two years, in which no man in his right senses will deny, but that we carried on a thriving traffick. On the other hand, this honourable board will see, upon perusing the annexed account, viz. an abstract of the comparison of five distinct years of exports and imports from England to all foreign countries, or of what we re-exported from our plantations, and of our East-India goods; and I believe it has been the same, from 1688 to the time the books of my office began, and continues to the present year, that our exports exceeded the imports to a very high degree; however, it can hardly be affirmed, and the merchants upon the Exchange will scarce agree, that, during this time, England has carried on a profitable trade, at least there appears no overbalance returned to us in bullion, to set the Mint at work; contrarywise, our species of gold and silver, since that time, is by degrees visibly diminished, which is one certain sign that a nation carries on a losing commerce; but the untying this knot, and solving this riddle, upon which the forming a right judgment concerning the present posture of our trade so much depends, will more properly be done when I come to treat upon the head of the balance between us, and Germany and Holland, to which parts our exportations seem so very large.

GENTLEMEN,

GENTLEMEN,

BEING directed by your precept to give the exports and imports between England and other countries, with my observations how the balance of trade stood, and having stated several matters of fact on the head of our trade with France, I shall humbly proceed to offer what has occurred to me upon this subject.

1st, That it is utterly impossible exactly to state the balance between our country and another, all trafficks having a mutual dependance one upon the other; and if a nation gains by the general bulk of its whole trade, which may be seen in a great variety of instances, that nation is no more to regard how the exports and imports stand between them and other countries, than hereby to watch what imposts their neighbours lay upon what is imported to them, and proportionably to lay fresh impositions upon what they receive from that country, more especially if they are used with notorious hardship by their neighbours.

2dly, That though sometimes there may seem to have been a great over-balance between us and France, yet it can by no means be affirmed that this was all loss to England, since, from this over-balance must be deducted what we should have brought from other countries for our necessary consumption, as wine, linnen, silks, and divers other goods, some whereof might come to us from France at easier rates than perhaps we could have had them from other parts; and unless reasons of state intervene, the body of a trading nation, collectively considered, is to look out where foreign goods are to be had at the lowest prime cost,
which

which is not only national gain, but profitable to the merchant.

3dly, That in laying such duties and prohibitions, it is to be well weighed, whether your own people will really bar themselves several luxurious consumptions, for, if not, you will deal to great disadvantage; as for instance, if you prohibit French wines, and yet will have them, it must come from a third hand; to that third hand you are forced to sell your native product at a cheap rate, and to pay them dear for what they import from foreign parts, so that both ways the third hand gains, and you lose, and they are highly paid for the carriage.

4thly, That high duties and impositions not only break some of the links in the chain of trade, but they generally end in a war between those nations where they are made use of frequently, and with great marks of anger.

5thly, That the best course of putting a stop to losing trades are sumptuary laws and good examples from the court, which may effectually discourage foreign fashions and the use of foreign apparel: this does the work without giving offence to your neighbours by prohibitions, which beget such animosities between countries (one still out-vying the other) when injuries of this kind are begun, that at last a third people, as Mr. Mun remarks in his book of trade, runs away with those trafficks by which both were formerly gainers: that, generally speaking, there is nothing more needful, to know whether a nation gets or loses by their commerce, than to contemplate whether their luxuries increase or diminish, or are at a stand; but when fashions are minded at courts, and toys bear staple rate, then does a country lose, not get, by the balance of trade.

6thly,

6thly, That a country whose wealth and strength very much depends upon dealings extended to all the known world, should, if possible, avoid losing its traffick with any considerable country. England may be looked upon as a general merchant, who should be stored with commodities to invite and please all sorts of dealers, and we should have a variety of goods to sort our cargoes, which cannot be had while there is such a gap as a total intermission of commerce with a country abounding in so many products, natural and artificial, as France has always been; and if we did not consume among ourselves all the effects heretofore brought from thence, but sent part of them abroad, to carry on our trade with other nations, we might not be losers in the balance, though the imports from thence might exceed the exports thither; that such an excess between the exports and imports as has been on our side for several years in our trade with Holland, is not always profitable to a country, and only shews that a single nation draws from us those commodities which we used to export to several countries with more advantage; and it must undoubtedly be better for English merchants to do their own business, than to have it done by others.

7thly, That if all trades were not so linked together in their nation as they are, we might safely prohibit or put a clog upon the traffick of that country, where we think ourselves the losers, but it is to be doubted whether this can be done without disturbing other parts of our general commerce; and I have heard men of great judgment and experience in these matters affirm, that without our dealings with France, the French could not have dealt with Spain and Italy, and without the commerce that was between France,
Spain

Spain and Italy, our traffick with the Spaniards and Italians had not been so large and profitable as it was in those days.

8thly, That our trade would be but upon a narrow bottom, if we confined ourselves to the meer barter of our own product, for such product of other countries as our own consumption requires; but our foreign dealings have been, and it is to be hoped hereafter will be, upon a better foot; and we are constantly to aim at a superlucration of wealth, in times of peace, that may support us in times of war. We are farther to consider, that besides the goods of our native growth, we have a vast product from our plantations, and a great variety of commodities from the East-Indies, to be re-exported to other countries, which exhausting our bullion, will be detrimental to us, unless sold abroad; for which reason we are to court as many foreign markets as possibly we can, to put no bar to the trade with any country, and to be well satisfied, if, upon the whole, our own product and re-exported goods find a sufficient vent.

9thly, That, generally speaking, the trades of those countries are more gainful, to which we carry more commodities of ours than we import of theirs from thence, but this rule does not always hold; as for example, In the Italian trade, the excess is of their side, and yet it is generally agreed we are gainers by that traffick, and the over-plus is returned to us in bullion or bills of exchange. In the Spanish trade, the excess between the exports and imports was sometimes on theirs and sometimes on our side, and yet, upon the whole, we were ever gainers, and it is from thence our vast quantities of bullion were formerly derived. In the Portugal trade, the excess between
the

the imports and exports was always of our side; but more especially since we have had no dealings with Spain, insomuch that we almost drained them of their silver coin, and begin to break into their modydas of gold; and when I come to lay before you the Spanish, Italian, and Portugal trades, you will see that, since the breach with Spain, our Portugal trade alone very much exceeded the dealings we had before the last war with Italy, Spain and Portugal all together, and the overbalance was returned to us in bullion, or bills of exchange upon Italy and other places; nor are we always gainers in the balance, where the excess between the exports and imports is constantly on our side, with a very large overplus, as in the instance of Holland, which will be farther explained when you have an account of that trade.

The premises considered, it is humbly submitted to the judgment of this honourable board, how far England, from 1660 to 1688, might be losers by the trade with France; Great-Britain, at that time, had no marks upon it of a nation declining in wealth and commerce; the interest of money was low, the species of gold and silver abounded, the middle rank of men had a large proportion of plate among them; after a general conflagration, the city was rebuilt in a few years, magnificent publick edifices were erected, the farm-houses every where were in good repair; the tonnage of mercantile shipping infinitely exceeded what we have at present, the customs, with the low duties then lying upon the merchant, produced in one year, as appears by the annexed account, from Michaelmas 1676 to Michaelmas 1677,

£.	s.	d.
828,200	17	4

All

All which I humbly conceive to have been the effects of a prosperous and extended trade, from whence we had accumulated such a mass of riches as has enabled us to carry on this long and expensive war, with no signs visible to the rest of Europe of our being yet reduced in strength and power.

I shall not so far oppose old and received opinions, however slightly grounded, as not to grant, that from the time the French laid such high duties on our woollen manufactures, as in the years 1660, 1664, and 1667, restraining their importation to two ports, and from ann. 1686, when they began to lay high impositions upon, and other ways to cramp our East-India exports thither, we might begin to suffer in our dealings with France, though, for divers reasons founded in matters of fact, I must totally differ in the quantum with the computers of those days, some of which, and among the principal leaders (as I have been well informed) whilst they were exclaiming against this over-balance in 1677, took care to lay in vast stocks of French brandy, by which they made no small advantage to themselves, whatever England was to get by the intended prohibition.

It has always been the opinion of those who are well versed in the nature of trade, that a wise state should never enter into prohibitions, but upon the utmost necessity, and upon the maturest deliberation; for the most sagacious man cannot, in the beginning, forejudge all the ill effects such a way of proceeding may afterwards produce, how far it may break or interrupt dealings with other countries, or what branches of profit it may utterly lose and drive quite into another channel, where, in times to come, such branches may always settle.

The French began to make this breach in good neighbourhood, and dealt with us, as if they thought the genius of France had got a perfect mastery over the genius of England, otherwise they would not have so imposed upon us in matters of this nature, where, though our court would not see, the people must needs feel, and where the legislature was certain to be alarmed, and at last to interpose.

As the duties now stand upon the respective product and manufacture of both kingdoms, there can be no free trade between them, without which there can be no sound and compleat peace; so that, whenever the war determines, their mutual interest will incline them to listen to terms of a fair commercial treaty, such as ought to be between countries who have no intentions to enter into a new war.

This consideration has led me, in obedience to your precept, to open to you (as far as all the light I am able to procure will guide me) how the trade stood between us and France heretofore, from whence your own wisdom will collect how it is like to stand hereafter. I have shewn that, as to their chief natural product, wine, we are fallen to deal with Spain, Portugal and Italy, for that commodity, which serves the middle rank of men (who must always be reckoned the great consumptioners) as well as French wine; and as to brandies, that our own home-made spirits are come into their place. It has likewise been observed to you in their manufacture, that, as to linnen, we have it from Ireland and Germany, where the traffick for that commodity seems to be in a settled channel.

Lastly, That we ourselves are improved in the making of silk and paper, so that, whenever a

peace comes, though the trade between both kingdoms should be as free and open as ever it was, there will not be the same want of, or call for, French importations as formerly; all which must needs be as well known to the councils of France as upon the Exchange of London, for which reasons we may justly insist on such a treaty of commerce as may put us, for at least an age, out of all fears to be over-balanced.

As the war has altered the channel of trade in most countries, so the superiority the Queen's arms have had in this sharp dispute has placed her Majesty in a higher and more glorious condition of treating with other countries than her predecessors have lately been; and as her power governs the peace, so it will be able to dictate the articles and terms on which it is to be founded, especially when she is to treat with a country that at least stands full as much in need of our goods, as we do of theirs: our importations from thence have chiefly been of matters serving to luxury, and which may be had from other places, whereas our exports thither have generally been of useful commodities, and not to be had at such easy rates from any other country, as lead, tin, and the woollen manufactures, so that, if both kingdoms can agree upon just and equal duties to be laid on their respective commodities, a free trade with France can never be dangerous to England, and as to an over-balance, that nation will have it who has the most convenient ports, whose people are most industrious and best skilled in the affairs of traffick, and who most abound in natural or artificial products, necessary to the common uses or ornament of life.

It may be laid down as a fundamental, that there can never be an open trade between us and France, unless the duties are lessened on both sides; but the additional impositions here being appropriated as funds for several loans, how far abatements in those high duties can be made, with due regard to preserving credit, must be determined by the wisdom of parliament; but so far may be safely advanced, that, in times of peace, the more the merchant is eased, the larger our importations will be; the customs will rise better, and the lenders upon the fund will have a more ample security, which will be obvious to those who consider what a small sum the high impositions upon trade have produced to the publick, and that this revenue, which, in proportion to the taxes laid upon it from time to time, should have raised four millions per ann. produced, by a medium of three years, viz.

	£.
From Christ. 1708 to Christ. 1710, } inclusive, nett into the Exchequer }	1615033

Whereas the tonnage and poundage, } including some farms, the new im- } positions upon wine, vinegar, the } duty on tobacco and sugar, the duty } on French linnen, brandy and silk, } produced, for the year ending the } 29th of Sept. 1688, nett into the } Exchequer ——— ——— }	1015472
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Difference	599561
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So

So that these variety of additional customs, which have brought such a miserable load upon trade, come actually no more in aid to the publick, and towards the discharge of loans, than the last-mentioned sum; and this low produce from such high duties is a sign but too visible how much our foreign traffick is diminished. It is true, we have been supported all along by the large exports we have made of our native product, and our plantation and East-India goods; but what will there be for our product and manufactures in times of peace, when other countries can cultivate their own lands, and set their own people to work, is a great question. Therefore, to repair the breaches this long war has made upon the kingdom, our business must be to enlarge and encourage foreign trade, and to get wealth by the same method our ancestors attained to it, which was to deal with all countries that would sell us their goods and take off our commodities; which has been the course whereby our neighbours the Dutch are come to make such a figure in the commercial world, who will be always ready to take up any part of foreign traffick we are so imprudent to abandon,

No imagination can be vainer than to think that trade is to be ruled and circumscribed by art; it must be suffered to take its own natural course, and not be interrupted by prohibitions, or high duties equal to prohibitions, unless upon provocation from other countries. They who think to promote the consumption of their own native product, by an universal discouragement of foreign goods, will find themselves, in process of time, to have little or no trade, and that their own commodities shall remain a drug upon their hands.

A large exportation of our own product, such as we have had for these last 23 years, is certainly very good for England; and if we had not had it, we could not have paid our troops abroad, without drawing away all the species of gold and silver: but the necessity of the call for our goods may cease or lessen, and, in such a case, the nations who receive our commodities will expect we should take off a due proportion of theirs, which excessive duties render impracticable. If we expect to have large dealings in the world, we must treat others no worse than they treat us; we must buy as well as sell, and not flatter ourselves with the hopes of subsisting merely by the exportations of our own growth and manufacture.

If the duties upon the respective commodities of both kingdoms could be laid with such a due proportion, as neither may have any apparent advantage over the other, which is the most either side can in justice and reason expect, the number, safety, and commodious situation of the ports in her Majesty's dominions, together with the goodness and utility of our native product, will at all times render us superior in an open trade with France.

It is obvious enough what must be the true interest of both countries; England will desire that our woollen manufactures and East-India goods may not be restrained, by old or new edicts, to inconvenient ports, and that a reasonable part of the high duties laid on those goods may be taken off: France will likewise propose to be eased in the high impositions laid upon their wines and brandies, linnens and paper; and both sides, if they intend to have an intercourse of trade, will wish to see the tariffe reduced to the terms of that time,

time, when both kingdoms traded together upon a more equal foot, which might be about the years 1664 and 1667.

Whatever matters of luxurious vanity we heretofore brought from thence, or should we plunge ourselves into all the excessive follies of our fathers, this will be sufficiently over-balanced, if we can have a free vent for our East-India goods in France; for I have heard experienced merchants affirm, that six of them, for several years, exported thither to the value of 300,000*l.* per ann. in East-India commodities; and, all Europe over, muslin is come into the room of lace; likewise, no large bulk of our fine draperies, when a free use of them is allowed in France, will pay the prime cost of such wines and brandies as we may want from thence.

When trade shall be put upon this equality of duties, it will soon be visible where the over-balance of profit lies. It may be well remembered, what vast quantities of gold came over hither from France during the four years interval of peace: experienced merchants will also tell you, that, notwithstanding the severe edicts against it, large sums of gold were brought from thence to England in specie, in the times of King Charles and King James the second, which might be one of the occasions that 6,200,000*l.* in guineas were coined in those two reigns; whereas, if we had been such losers in the balance, our species of gold and silver must have been sent thither, whereof nothing appears.

It is further to be considered, that the woollen manufacture is not so inseparably annexed to the English soil, but other countries may attempt it, peradventure with success. Looms have been

elsewhere set up, whatever interruptions they may have met with from a long war that has entertained so many hands, but when those hands are disarmed, they must be employed in the works and arts of peace: therefore, to promote in foreign markets the vent of this commodity, upon which the people of England so much depend, we may safely recede from some points of advantage in trade of importance to us.

If our circumstances can permit us to meet such of our neighbours as are willing to concur in measures to ease one another in the high duties that are so great a weight upon our mutual dealings, this dangerous rivalry may perhaps cease, and they may no longer think it their interest to set up a manufacture not so natural to them as to us, and wherein, let others do their utmost, we shall always excel the rest of Europe.

To preserve, for future ages, the balance of trade on our side, where it is generally fixed ever since we began to look abroad, no better expedients occur to my observation, than,

1st, Never to erect the chief of our strength, nor to employ the bulk of our expences hereafter, in land-armies to be paid abroad; for though constant successes should attend us, and though all the while our native product should find a sufficient vent in foreign markets (which has been our case more especially for these nine years last past) yet the maintaining and paying our troops in such a war, must interrupt all the profits to be expected from trade, and give the result of our hazards and industry to that country in or near whose dominions the war is managed, and leave us, at the foot of the account, losers in what is called the balance.

2dly,

2dly, To avoid prohibitions, where necessity does not compel us to retaliate for the like usage.

3dly, Moderate duties, such as may not discourage other countries from dealing with us, and encourage our own people to place their effects in trade where their wealth best operates to the publick good.

4thly, To enlarge our foreign business as much as possible, whereunto we are the better enabled by the immense sums now rising in bills, stocks and tallies, which, by the easiness of their transfer, will very probably be found in practice to serve all the uses of trade, as well as the species of money, especially when a firm peace shall have placed those credits upon a surer foundation than they stand at present.

Importation of bullion, as has been remarked before, is one of the principal signs that a country drives a gainful traffick: on the contrary, whether it be for the uses of trade, or for the payment of troops, if we annually export more bullion than from any view can be thought to come to us from abroad, we must be losers in the general balance; and in this case, necessity by degrees must have carried off our coin, either in specie or melted down.

Till the year 1695 there was no account kept (at least that ever I could meet with) of the foreign gold and bullion exported, since which time, viz. May 1, 1695, and in 14 years 8 months (as may be seen in the annexed paper) there was exported of foreign gold coin and bullion, and foreign silver coin and bullion, to the value of

£.	s.	d.
6,542,904	15	2½

Add to this, the coin in gold and silver carried away by the officers and others for their expences, from the beginning of the war downwards, amounting in the whole to a very considerable sum; besides, most of the shipping was before the register, and whatever the nine millions of hammered money in tale wanted of weight, was clipt away, melted down, and exported; and allowing these nine millions to have been diminished but a third in weight by the clippers (a moderate computation) we must have lost this way three millions; so that, from 1688 to this time, our exportation of bullion must have been every year, in a large proportion, greater than our importation thereof could possibly be, especially when we reflect what a long interruption there has been in the commerce with Spain, from whence most of our silver was derived.

Some that may have an interest to desire the continuation of the war (I mean the principal dealers in stocks and tallies) who have been the only real gainers by it, will pretend that it has not in the least degree damaged England; but the landed men will find and feel hereafter, more than perhaps at present, the falshood of this assertion; they ground their opinion upon the large exportation of our product, goods and manufactures, which we have had for many years. This vent abroad has indeed been our support, and without it we must have been impoverished beyond retrieve; but our income from thence has not so answered our expence, as to leave us in near that condition of wealth wherein we flourished before the war; which point shall be more fully handled when I come to speak of the trade between England and Holland.

Some of these matters should be passed over in silence by me, if they could be judged secrets of empire, and not to be touched upon; but the nature of our funds is such, as exposes the posture of our affairs to all who will give themselves the least trouble of looking into our debts at home, and expences abroad: besides, I conceive myself bound, by the oath I am to take at the discovery of this report, to conceal no observation that may have occurred to me, relating to the balance of trade which your precept requires me to lay before you.

In such an extended traffick as we formerly carried on, it is difficult to determine where we lost (all trades being so interwoven with one another) though it may be easy to point out where we chiefly gained; but it may be safely pronounced, that a country, whose dealings are universal, will have profit from the whole, which profit will be visible in the increase of coin and bullion.

We owe the original of our riches and naval power to the generous and enterprizing spirit of our fore-fathers, who compassed all the globe to make discoveries and obtain settlements in the new world, which the Spanish monarchy hoped wholly to engross. We were not then discouraged by shipwrecks, disappointments and loss of cargoes: when an enterprize failed, others were ready to undertake it, and this great and national stock was generally carried on at the expences, and by the publick zeal of private men, till we came to have a considerable share with the Spaniards in America, where doubtless we had enlarged our dominions after the death of King James the first, but for the troubles with which the beginning of
King

King Charles the first's reign was attended, and but for the civil wars that not long after succeeded, and which so many years employed our thoughts and forces.

But now, when there is so fair a prospect of a lasting peace, and when the terms of that peace will probably give England some recompence for the expensive war this kingdom has carried on to preserve the liberties of Europe, it is to be hoped we have an opportunity of procuring to ourselves a new branch of trade that will make us amends for what we may have suffered by our steady affection to the common cause.

I shall not expatiate upon this subject till I come to lay before you an account of our plantations, to which head more properly belongs what may be said in relation to the advantages we may promise to ourselves from the South-Sea trade; and at present I shall only crave leave to offer, that there are several parts of America scarce in the possession of, or at least hitherto unconquered by the Spaniards, where, if we can obtain safe and convenient settlement, we shall have such opportunities of vending our native product and manufactures, and of bringing from thence goods for our own and the use of other countries, as may, in process of time, so increase the general bulk of our trade, as apparently to give us that overbalance so much sought after, and which is only to be had by dealings every where extended.

The South-Sea Company have a stock capable to embrace and bring to a happy conclusion any large undertaking. It is well known, gold and silver are not wholly confined to the parts now possessed by Spain, and if fresh mines could be discovered and opened, it could never prejudice

the Spaniards ; for the wants and avarice of the world increase so fast, that these metals are never like to become a drug by their plenty, as other commodities are wont to do.

But supposing the Indians are determined to conceal their mines from us, as they have done from the Spaniards, yet there are provinces in America lying now uncultivated, so rich and fertile, that plantations may be there made with more advantage to their mother kingdom than any yet in our possession ; and if we can be once well fixed there, with colonies able to defend themselves, it is impossible but that, between the Spaniards and Indians (both desirous of and wanting our commodities) we must make such a superlucration as will help to restore to the veins of the body politick, that life-blood which for many years has been so carelessly exhausted.

But to bring to perfection so great a work as the settlements of a new traffick, we must imitate the perseverance of our ancestors, and patiently wait the benefits of time, and not (like our neighbours the French) grow weary of, and throw aside the thoughts of any dealings wherein the returns are not immediate : we are rather, in this point, to follow the example of the Dutch, who, in their East-India management, never so much consult the present as future advantages.

The South-Sea Company, as their stock is, or probably will be much the largest, so they seem to be upon a more lasting foundation than the other societies, in regard they are to continue till their mighty capital can be repaid ; for which reason they are more bound to consult the good of posterity than others who have not the same prospect of duration. From the beginning, the East-India Company

Company had doubtless turned their trade to more national profit, if, from time to time, their terms in it had been longer; they would have better fortified their settlements, and in those wide dominions they had opportunities to enlarge their dealings, so as to have vended all the while greater quantities of our native product, and to have exported less bullion, which would have made that trade not so invidious as it has ever been.

It is to be hoped the South-Sea Company will take warning by their errors, and endeavour to render their traffick as national as they can possibly contrive to make it. To become the darlings of the people, they must make large exportations of our native product, and considerable importations of bullion, to supply what of necessity will be carried off every year by the East-Land and East-India trades.

A nation which is observed to enlarge its foreign business, to proceed in it with courage governed by conduct, to have a transferable stock, as England now has, of about 50 millions in the funds, which may be employed in the uses of trade, to have such a valuable product of their own, and such variety of goods the growth of their plantations, and other countries to re-export where profit can be found, must carry the market throughout the world, if they will exert their strength and riches, as far as people ought to do who intend to preserve themselves.

War is commonly the time for private men to make their fortunes out of the publick; peace should be the proper time for the publick to get by the industry of private men, to which industry the state should give all reasonable encouragement and help, and render trade as little burthensome
to

to the merchant as the circumstance of affairs will admit of.

If this course be taken, we shall have the overbalance of trade, not only with France, but most of our other neighbours: we shall make provision for another year, which is not impossible, let a peace be never so well settled for the present; and we shall lay the foundation for such a sort of treasure as may not be liable to the variety of accidents to which paper-credit will ever be obnoxious.

All which is humbly submitted to this honourable board, by

In the first place, the Commission has to be
informed of the results of the work done
by the various departments of the
Government. It is the duty of the
Commission to keep the public informed
of the progress of the work done
by the various departments of the
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Government.

A SECOND
REPORT

TO THE HONOURABLE

The COMMISSIONERS

For putting in Execution the Act, intituled

An Act for the taking, examining, and
stating the publick Accounts of the
Kingdom.

From CHARLES DAVENANT, L. L. D.
Inspector-General of the Exports and Imports
of the Trade between England and Holland.

PART II.

A SECOND

REPORT

TO THE HONORABLE

THE COMMISSIONERS

OF THE CUSTOMS

IN AID FOR THE TAKING, EXAMINING, AND
RECORDING THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS OF THE
CUSTOMS

FROM CHARLES DAVENANT, ESQ.
Inspector-General of the Exports and Imports
of the Trade between England and Holland

PART II.

A SECOND

R E P O R T

TO THE HONOURABLE

The COMMISSIONERS, &c.

P A R T II.

IN what shall be said upon this subject, the same method, in a great measure, shall be followed, as was observed in treating of the trade between France and England : from the old manuscript remaining in the Custom-house there shall be laid before this honourable board an account of the imports and exports, with the excess, for the years 1663 and 1669, which, as occasion offers, shall be compared with the imports and exports of the years, from 1699 to 1704, with this caution, that the manuscript from whence these accounts are extracted does not include these out-ports. Notice shall likewise be taken of the

Vol. V. D d principal

commodities, respectively, which compose the traffick that is between both countries. You shall have likewise a particular account of the value of the fine draperies entered for exportation. And first, as to the general exports and imports, viz.

		£.	s.
Before the war,	from Mich. 1662, to Mich. 1663,	imports	491376 11
		exports	105216 7
		imports exceed the exports	386160 4
	from Mich. 1668, to Mich. 1669,	imports	501674 16
		exports	178044 15
		imports exceed the exports	323630 1

In this place, as was intimated before upon the head of France, there is wanting an account how matters stood between us and Holland from 1669 to 1696: but here follows the first five years estimate of the ten years trade your precept requires me to lay before you.

A com-

Report to the Commissioners for stating the Publick Accounts.

403

A comparison of the estimate of the imports and exports of the following five years trade to and from Holland, from Christmas 1699, to Christmas 1704, viz.

Imports in the following years,				Exports in the following years,				Estimate				Excess			
From Christ.		to Christ.		£.		s. d.		£.		s. d.		£.		s. d.	
1699	1700	1699	1700	527072	6	2½	1700	1769282	16	2	1242210	9	11½		
1700	1701	1700	1701	521257	16	0	1701	2145186	19	8¾	1623929	3	8¾		
1701	1702	1701	1702	486432	2	11¼	1702	1686551	18	4	1250119	15	4¾		
1702	1703	1702	1703	522413	9	7¾	1703	2417890	0	11¾	1895476	11	4		
1703	1704	1703	1704	756843	3	11	1704	2363775	3	8¾	1606931	19	9¾		
Total		Total		2814018	18	8½		10382686	18	11¼	7618668	0	2¾		

Dd 2

From

From these accounts two points are to be observed. 1st, That in the years 1663 and 1669, our dealings with Holland were inconsiderable to what they have been since the beginning of the first war, and still continue to be. 2dly, That in the said two years we brought from thence much more of their commodities than we carried of our product thither, so that, according to the vulgar notion, the balance of trade at that time was much to their advantage.

Note, That in the years 1663 and 1669 our exports thither consisted but of 45 articles of the rated goods, whereas now the said articles are increased to the number of at least 120, or 130, and so proportionably in the goods paying at valorem.

In the said years our principal exportations thither were the woollen manufacture, tin, lead, wrought brass, melasses, allum, wrought silk, butter, and morkins.

And the principal importations from Holland were linnens, wrought silk, thrown silk, threads, incles, spicery, madder, battery, stock fish, whale fins, hemp, flax, unwrought copper, Rhenish wine, safflower, and iron wire; of which principal articles the respective values shall be here inserted, that you may have before you some view of our former dealings with that country.

Exports

Note, From the port of London, in the year 1663, there was exported of corn to Holland from hence but to the value of 54*l.* and in the year 1669 none at all. How it stood as to tobacco, East-India, and other re-exported goods, I cannot find, because the old manuscript annexed to the first report takes no notice of any re-exportations.

In the following abstract of the principal articles of our exports to, and imports, from Holland, you will find, as to the imports, no material difference to what they were in the year 1669; but as to our exports thither you will see them increased to a very great degree, which I conceive to proceed from the alterations which war has made in the channel of trade.

This honourable board will have before them, annexed to this report, a state at large of the trade between England and Holland for five years, viz. from Christmas 1699 to Christmas 1704; but in the comparison I am about to make (to avoid prolixity) I shall only instance the years from 1702 to 1703, wherein, of the five first years, our mutual dealings were the largest.

Anno 1703.

An account of the eight principal articles of the English product and manufacture that were exported to Holland, viz.

		£.	s.	d.
Woollen manufacture, at ———	1339526	4	0	
	<i>Ton C. qr. lb.</i>			
Lead foder, { 3646 0 1 14 }	38283	8	0	
at —				
Wrought brass, C. 41 2 0 0 at	186	15	0	
Melasses, nil. ———	0	0	0	
Silk wrought, 4221 lb. at ———	7386	15	0	
Butter, 2425 firkins, at ———	2364	7	6	
Morkins, 13,600, at ———	121	10	0	
Tin, 4671—2—0 at ———	17051	2	11 1/2	

Total 1404920 2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Whereof the fine drapery, or
cloths, long, short, and
Spanish, are 6643 $\frac{1}{2}$ pieces,
valued at ————

Ann.	{	1669	}	Total exports of				
				the eight princi-	153799	10	0	
	{	1703	}	pal articles —	1404920	2	5	$\frac{1}{2}$

1703 } pal articles — } 1404920 2 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Difference 1251120 12 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Among these eight articles I have not included corn, which is now so large a part of our exportations to Holland, because, in the year 1669, from the port of London, we carried none thither. But I shall here take notice, that in the year 1793

there was entered for exportation to the value of,
in all forts of grain,

			£.	s.
From {	London	—	12202	15
	Out-ports	—	168067	0
Total			180269	15

This exportation has every year increased, from 1703 to 1710, as the board may observe from the corn account annexed to the first report, by which it appears, that in this branch of trade we have in a great measure supplanted those northern countries from whence Holland was heretofore furnished with grain.

So far as to our own native product. What exportation we made to Holland in 1669, of our plantation, East-India, and other foreign goods, does not appear to me; but I have reasons to think they might be in proportion to the exports of our product and manufactures, and shall now proceed to lay before you an account of some of the principal articles of foreign goods re-exported by certificate (in time.)

Anno 1703. Grocery wares.

	C.	qr.	lb.		£.	s.	d.
Almonds sweet,	855	2	5	at	2138	17	2½
Currants, —	5121	0	27	at	9474	5	11
Ginger dry, —	1471	1	8	at	3200	2	5½
Sugar, —	30616	3	10	at	99603	8	10

Total 114416 14 5

Druggs

Druggs vocat.

	lb.		£.	s.	d.
Balsam natural, —	2265	at —	1812	0	0
Borax refined, —	3080	at —	1078	0	0
Cassia lignea, —	33409	at —	4454	10	8
Jallap ———	27683	at —	4037	2	1
Musk ———	3359 ¹ / ₄	at —	3359	5	0
Long pepper, —	16607	at —	2283	9	3
Pincall, ———	59687	at —	13449	11	6
Wormseed, ———	6265	at —	1409	12	6
Total			31883	11	0

There are, besides the abovesaid druggs, upwards of 40 several sorts more exported to Holland, to the value of 16,765*l.* whereof the most considerable are myrrh, nux, verina, quick-silver, scammony, shell-lake, stick-lake, turpentine common, and vermillion.

Wood for Dyers vocat.

	Ton.	C.	qr.	lb.		£.	s.	d.
Braziletto —	35	16	0	0	at	849	3	0
Fustick —	71	2	0	16	at	949	2	11
Logwood —	864	3	3	1	at	12873	17	7 ¹ / ₂
Redwood —	10	0	0	0	at	545	0	0
Total						15217	3	6 ¹ / ₂

Tobacco.

Entered for exportation } 143596 16 0¹/₂
 7,356,470 lb. at —

Wool

Wool vocat.

		£.	s.	d.
Barbary wool	} to the value of }	7800	3	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Carmenia wool				
Cotton wool				
Spanish wool				
Yarn { Mohair	} to the value of }	1783	6	3
Cotton				

The several articles of the East-India goods re-exported to Holland, ann. 1703, are too many to be enumerated; but I have annexed to this report a particular state of the value of all East-India goods, as well prohibited as unprohibited, that were exported to Holland in four distinct years, from Christmas 1701 to Christmas 1705, to which the board may have recourse for their own observation; but for the year 1703, both together were valued at 345,647*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. In all sorts of foreign goods my ledgers keep a particular account of goods exported in time, and out of time, and for the year on which I am now speaking of are as follows:

Anno 1703.

£.

Total value of the principal articles of	} 604652
the re-exports, by certificate, in time,	
to Holland	

Total value of the principal articles of	} 37309
the re-exports, by certificate, out of	
time, to Holland	

And

And is laid before you to shew what a prejudice is brought upon the trade of England by the high duties laid upon all commodities, joined with the short and narrow limitations of time allowed for drawbacks upon debentures, in the re-exportation of the said goods. There can be no greater profit to this kingdom than what arises from the vent abroad of what our industry brings to us from other countries. The high excises lately imposed have rendered arts and labour dear at home, and consequently raised the price of our native product and manufactures; so that, when the necessity ceases among our neighbours, it is probable there will not be the same call for them as there has been of late years; for which reason, in our future traffick, we must not lay our chief dependance upon the exportation of our own product, which will be liable to many accidents, and therefore it is our business to encourage and make easy in foreign markets, as much as possible, the sale of our own plantation goods, the prime cost whereof comes to us at a low rate, from the fertility and cheapness of land, though labour be dear in those parts, till a good settlement of the African trade shall have made Negroes cheaper. Our plantation goods are not so necessary abroad as to invite over any considerable quantity with a load of duties upon them; and you see the article of goods exported (out of time) amounts to but 37,309*l.* whereas, if the merchant had been at liberty to chuse his own market, his re-exportation had been larger. Tobacco, sugars, druggs, and wood for dyers, &c. brought from America, and re-exported, are in a manner as profitable to the publick as if the value thereof were brought home in bullion; upon which account the merchant should

should be freed from all unreasonable and needless restraint. But upon this head I shall further enlarge, by the by, when I come to open the matter of drawbacks so far as to the principal exports from England to Holland; and now as to the imports from thence hither.

		£.	s.	d.
Imports, Anno 1703.	Linnen, to the value of —	213701	19	11
	Wrought silk, 6809 lb. at	15322	2	6
	Thrown silk, 12,305 lb. at	15966	0	0
	Threads, to the value of —	51138	5	11½
	Spicery, 113,607½ lb. at —	27469	10	3
	Juices, to the value of —	16860	4	4
	Battery, 3298--0--0 —	18961	19	11½
	Stock-fish, 10,000 —	150	0	0
	Whale-fins, C. 1136--3--9 at	9094	12	11
	Hemp, — 2452--2--0 at	2061	13	6
	Flax, — 4642--2-23 at	8124	14	8½
	Unwrought cop. 2 at	2	0	0
	Rhenish wine, 3673 tun, at	17447	8	7
	Safflower, nil.	0	0	0
	Iron wire, C. 429--3--0 at	2793	7	6
	Madder, 15154--2--1 at	24843	0	4½
	Value: { Brandy, tun 203-1-16 at	6202	13	9
	{ Wainicot boards, } —	10490	1	0
155,053, at —				
Total		440629	15	2½

In stating these comparisons, to help the reader's memory, I must be sometimes compelled to repetitions.

Gross

		£.	s.	d.
Gross importations from	1699	501674	16	0
Holland, anno	1703	522413	9	7½
Difference		20738	13	7½

Imports of the principal	1669	421401	12	0
articles from Holland,	1703	440629	15	2½
anno				
Difference		19228	3	2½

But to set this matter in a clearer light, I shall give an account of the whole exports and imports between both countries for seven distinct years, from Christmas 1698, to Christmas 1705, viz.

From

Report to the Commissioners for stating the Publick Accounts.

From Christ. 1698 to Christ. 1699, imported to the value of —	£. 512599	s. 4	d. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	From Christ. 1698 to Christ. 1699, entered for expor- tation to the value of —	£. 1456142	s. 1	d. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
				Exports exceeded the imports	943542	16	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
From Christ. 1699 to Christ. 1700, imported to the value of —	£. 527072	s. 6	d. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	From Christ. 1699 to Christ. 1700, entered for expor- tation to the value of —	1769282	16	2
				Exports exceeded the imports	1242210	9	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
From Christ. 1700 to Christ. 1701, imported to the value of —	£. 521257	s. 16	d. 0	From Christ. 1700 to Christ. 1701, entered for expor- tation to the value of —	2145186	19	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
				Exports exceeded the imports	1623929	3	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
							From

Report to the Commissioners for stating the Publick Accounts.

From Christ. 1701 to Christ. 1702, imported to the value of	£. 436422	s. 2	d. 11 ¹ / ₄	From Christ. 1701 to Christ. 1702, entered for exportation to the value of	£. 1686551	s. 18	d. 4
				Exports exceeded the imports	1250129	15	4 ³ / ₄
From Christ. 1702 to Christ. 1703, imported to the value of	£. 522413	s. 9	d. 7 ³ / ₄	From Christ. 1702 to Christ. 1703, entered for exportation to the value of	£. 2417890	0	11 ³ / ₄
				Exports exceeded the imports	1895476	11	4
From Christ. 1703 to Christ. 1704, imported to the value of	£. 756843	s. 3	d. 11	From Christ. 1703 to Christ. 1704, entered for exportation to the value of	£. 2363775	3	8 ³ / ₄
				Exports exceeded the imports	1606931	19	9 ¹ / ₄
							From

Report to the Commissioners for Stating the Publick Accounts.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
From Chrif. 1704 to Chrif.				From Chrif. 1704 to Chrif.			
1705, imported to the	572216	5	2½	1705, entered for expor-	1726711	15	6¼
value of				tation to the value of	—		
				Exports exceeded the imports	1154495	10	3¾
The medium of the feven years exports, per ann. is							
					1937934	7	11¼
The medium of the feven years imports, per ann. is							
					549832	1	2¾
				Difference	1388102	6	8½

From

From the foregoing accounts it appears, that our imports from Holland have continued, for several years, in a manner at a stand, seldom exceeding half a million per ann. for we bring from thence but very little more than we brought in the year 1669, viz.

		£.
Imported ann. 1705	————	557216
Imported ann. 1669	————	501674
		————
Difference	—	55542

It is true this account, extracted from the old manuscript, does not include the out-ports, which would increase the article above one-fourth part, whereas our exports to Holland have every year increased, and some years the excess on our side has been 1,500,000*l.* but, by a medium of seven years, almost 1,400,000*l.* per ann. But whether or no this seeming over-balance in trade with the Dutch be to the profit of this kingdom, shall be impartially examined and stated in the sequel of this report.

If, according to the vulgar notion, this large over-balance had been all clear gain to England, it would have been some kind of recompence for the interruptions so long a war has brought to other branches of our foreign traffick; but it shall be opened to this honourable board, that nothing can be more fallacious, than, because a country takes off more of our commodities than we do of theirs, to argue from thence, that our dealings with that country are always beneficial to us, and that, when this happens, there is a constant superlubration on our side.

If, for these last 23 years, the Dutch had so far augmented their luxuries as to want, for their

Own consumption, that vast bulk of commodities they have constantly fetched from this kingdom, and if we had been all along so reformed in our manners as to stand in little need of foreign goods, Holland must have been great losers, and we great gainers, by the dealings that have been between us.

If they had not found their accounts in the prodigious quantity of effects annually exported thither from hence, and if so wise a state had perceived itself to carry on a losing trade, they would have put a stop to this mischief, either by prohibitions of, or high duties upon our product and manufacture, for which they had a sufficient pretence, from the additional impositions we have been compelled to lay upon their linnens and other goods; but they have been too prudent to be frightened with the false appearance of an overbalance, well knowing the more they brought from hence, the better opportunities they had to enlarge their general trafficks.

When we examine into the particulars of this great exportation, we find most of it to consist in commodities not for their own consumption, but rather to be re-exported. To begin therefore with

The Woollen Manufactures.

Our export of this commodity to Holland was heretofore but inconsiderable, viz, ann. 1663, but 68,199*l.* 11*s.*

		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>
Anno 1669	— — — — —	79953	10
Anno 1703	— — — — —	1339526	0
Difference	—	1259572	10

Which

Which is well near the whole over-balance we are thought to have in our trade with Holland.

The value of our exports to Holland, in three articles only of the woollen goods, amounts to more than quadruple the value of our exports from London thither (certificated goods excepted) formerly did, viz.

Anno 1669, the said export	—	£. 178044
Anno 1703, the export of perpetua- nas, ferges and stuffs	—	} 798527

It cannot be well imagined, that, in 34 years, the Dutch are so increased in numbers of people, wealth and luxury, as to want such quantities of these commodities for their own consumption, over and above what they were wont to call for, from whence must follow, That they purchase those immense cargoes to re-export to other countries, and so they are become, in a more extended degree than heretofore, the carriers of our commodities to foreign markets; that is to say, they supply those parts which we, for want of industry, have not embraced, or where our traffick has been interrupted by the war. It is easy to prove that, for the last 20 years, great parcels of our fine draperies, and other woollen manufactures, went into France through Flanders, by the connivance of governors, and by compositions with the French farmers, to the value (as I am well informed, when in Holland about six years since) of near 300,000*l.* per ann. Since the trade with the Spaniards has been interrupted, they must have carried of the same goods great quantities to Portugal, otherwise how could they dispose of all the baize sent from hence to Holland, which article of baize, from 1699 to 1704, amounts to, at

a medium of the said five years, 92,526*l.* per ann, a larger proportion than they can possibly be conceived to consume themselves ; and from Portugal it must have found its way to Spain and the West-Indies. The same may be said of perpetuanas, serges, says, and other stuffs, as also of stockings, woollen and worsted, for men, women and children. During both the wars, not only the fine draperies, but manufactures from the long wool, got into France from the frontier places, which turned to the profit of Holland ; and of late years, since they have so much enlarged their trafficks, and accumulated such a stock of wealth to support their trade, they have carried up the rivers into Germany great parcels of fine cloths, stuffs, says, and serges, which our merchants were wont formerly to export to Hamburgh and other parts of the German empire, upon their own accounts ; and if this were not the case, and if the Dutch did not carry much of the English product to Germany, the vast tract of that country considered, our dealings thither would be much greater than they are, whereas, by a medium of seven years, from Christmas 1698 to Christmas 1705, our dealings with Germany stood thus :

		£.	
Imports	} to the value of {	677521	} per ann.
Exports		838791	

Difference 161270

Which is no considerable excess from so large and populous a country, especially when it is considered what quantities of German linnens have been imported hither since the first war with France, which Germany linnens must have been answered by an adequate quantity of our woollen manu-

manufactures, if the Dutch did not intercept us in the traffick, by our own commodities from the premisses. This honourable board may observe, that Holland is no loser in the over-balance we seem to have against them between the exports and imports, which over-balance arises chiefly from the article of woollen manufactures.

But here may arise a question, How far this article of our foreign exportations may be relied on, because of the suspicion of over-entries by the merchants of such goods as pay no customs outwards, in particular the woollen manufactures? Which point shall be handled and set in a clear light towards the latter end of this Report.

Tin.

This is another of the commodities which the Dutch take from us to re-export to other countries.

Exported to Holland, viz.

	£.	s.
From Mich. 1662 to Mich. 1663, }	78	15
21 C. at 3 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> per C. —		

From Mich. 1668 to Mich. 1669, }	1635	0
436 C. at 3 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> per C. —		

Since the war, by a medium of 10 years, exported to Holland, per ann.

	£.	s.
From Christ. 1699 to Christ. 1709, }	21373	4
5937 C. at 3 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> per C.		

The exportation of this commodity, as well as divers others of our native product, has very much increased during the whole progress of the war; for to all the countries with whom we dealt there was exported,

			Tons.
From Mich.	{ 1662 }	to Mich.	{ 1663 — 153
	{ 1668 }		{ 1669 — 240

Which the board, from the foregoing 10 years medium, may observe to be much increased.

		Tons.
Of these 10 years	{ the lowest was about	865
	{ the highest was about	1375

It is likewise observable, that, during what may be called the interval of peace, there was no great variation in this export, which was as follows:

			Tons.
From Christ.	{ 1698 }	to Christ.	{ 1699 — 1243
	{ 1699 }		{ 1700 — 1352
	{ 1700 }		{ 1701 — 1298

The ten years medium was ————— 1094

Three years medium in time of peace was ————— 1297

Medium of the excess ————— 203

It is not difficult to account for the reasons why our late exportations of tin so far exceed those of former times. All our neighbours, as well as ourselves, are increased in the luxurious ways of living; such who heretofore were content with pewter, are now served in plate, and such as made use of trenchers, wooden platters and earthen ware, will

will now have pewter: all which is visible within 40 years, and has occasioned this great call of a commodity almost peculiar to us.

It is probable this exportation has been rather more, than less, than in the periods here taken notice of, for the two last years, ending at Christmas next, whereof, as yet, no account can be given; but it is to be feared that, at this instant, the markets abroad are over-glutted with this material, in which the persons interested in the credits upon tin have, perhaps, of late forced a trade, insomuch that peace, and a flowing traffick every where, may not probably, for some time, enlarge this export, wherewith France and other countries have been supplied by way of Holland.

If we have raised, and continue to raise out of the earth, more tin every year than our home consumption and the uses of our neighbours require, we must expect to have it become a drug, which will both hurt the Queen in her civil list, and, to a degree, prejudice the whole kingdom in its general balance with other countries.

There is yearly more tin made in the kingdom than is taken off by our own home consumption, or by our foreign vent, which, in the six years the Queen's contract is to last, must needs render this commodity a drug. Upon enquiry, this honourable board will find, that, including the Michaelmas coinage, viz. 428 tons, there will remain upon her Majesty's hands, unfold, 4659 tons, which peace and a free trade will not be able to carry off in several years.

As the case stands at present, Holland is the great magazine for tin; the necessities of such as have it upon their hands, either as merchandize or security, drive it thither, and the Dutch set what price they please upon this rich product of England, to the damage of the publick.

To obviate this mischief, all reasonable ways should be thought on to promote the consumption of the metal here at home, whereby the markets abroad will not be over-glutted with it.

If there be such a want among the common people of halfpence and farthings, as is affirmed by all retailers, perhaps it would not be amiss to set on foot a coinage of tin halfpence and farthings, the coinage to be at her Majesty's expence and to her sole profit; for experience has shewn how unsafe it is to trust such an undertaking to private hands. This coinage will take off about 1000 tons of the dead stock now lying by, and give the remainder a freer vent in foreign markets.

Corn.

There is annexed to the first Report, an account of the qualities and quantities of corn that have been entered for exportation, and to what parts, for 11 years dismifs, from Christmas 1699 to Christmas 1710, to which I refer the board in any particular enquiry they are pleased to make; but crave leave to observe, that corn is in a manner a new exportation arising to us from the war, which has in other countries so employed the hands of their people that they could not till the ground, or from dearths or plagues, wherewith divers nations have been afflicted for these last 23 years. Formerly we carried grain from the port of London, and but in small quantities, only to Holland, Spain, Denmark, Africa, the plantations, Italy and Portugal; and to all these countries,

	£.	s.
For 1662 to 1663, to the value of —	4315	5
For 1668 to 1669, to the value of —	2011	4

Whereas

Whereas now we export grain of all sorts to Africa, Canaries, Denmark and Norway, East-Country, Flanders, France, Germany, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Madeiras, Newfoundland, Portugal, Ruffia, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Venice; Isles Guernsey, &c. and English plantations, by a medium of 11 years,

		£.	s.	d.
	From Christ. 1699 to			
	Christ. 1710, to the	274	14	10
	value of —			
per ann.	Whereof, by the same			
	medium of the said			
	11 years, entered for	151	9	34
	exportation, to Hol-		14	3
	land in particular, to			
	the value of —			

What part of this commodity is for their own consumption, and what part they re-export to other countries, does not appear to me; but so far is certain,—When corn bears a high price in foreign markets, they send large cargoes of it to the places where it finds a good vent; and it has been known, that in years of scarcity they bring us back our own wheat, because of the premium we give upon exportation, and which they are enabled to do, by having large granaries almost in every great town, wherein they store large quantities in cheap years, to answer the demands of other countries. And they will always have the same advantage over us, till the wisdom of the publick here think fit to erect granaries in this kingdom, which will not only be advantageous to our own foreign trade, in the exportation of this commodity, but likewise become beneficial to all our manufactures, which must be dearly or cheaply wrought,

wrought, as corn comes dear or cheap to the common people. As the case now stands, the Dutch have too great a share in a plentiful year of corn here; whereas, if (like them) we had publick granaries, the superfluity of some years would sell better in foreign markets, and support our own poor in times of want; and to me it seems, that nothing could more contribute to put the general balance of trade always on the side of England, than by good œconomy in the publick to keep corn constantly at such a rate, as if the price of labour and manufacture may at no time be over-high.

Having made these short remarks upon the three principal articles of our native product, whereby our neighbours, from the beginning of the war till now, have made such considerable advantages, by re-exporting the said goods to other countries, and by being well paid on both sides for the carriage, most of which profits would have accrued to England, if we had been our own merchants, and exported the said commodities directly from England, as heretofore we did, and if, especially during the last war (by letting Holland carry on almost a free trade with France, while our hands were bound up) we had not suffered that country to be in the nature of a free port, with an universal magazine, where all the commercial world had liberty to buy and sell.

And having opened these points, as well as the shortness of time and the impossibility of procuring the facts of trade, for some years antecedent to the war, would permit me, I shall proceed to make some observations upon the chief of our plantation and East-India goods sent from hence every year to Holland.

Tobacco.

Tobacco.

How the re-exports of this commodity stood before the first war, does not appear to me from any authentick account or memorial I could ever meet with. There is hereunto annexed an account at large of the tobacco imported into England, in 10 distinct years, from Christmas 1699 to Christmas 1709, with an estimate of the first cost or value thereof, and an account of the tobacco entered for exportation for the same years, distinguishing the quantities by certificate, in time, and the quantities by certificate, out of time, taking notice of the value in England after the duties are drawn back, in time, and of the value of the tobacco, out of time, which has not the benefit of draw-backs.

The general imports of tobacco, at a medium of the said 10 years, amounts to in quantity	} lb.	28858666 per ann.
--		

whereof, re-exported to all foreign ports, by the same medium for the said term, in quantity,

By certificate,	in time	—	17580107	} per ann.
	out of time		17900	

Total 17598007

And to Holland in particular,

By certificate,	in time	—	7847628	} per ann.
	out of time		3529	

Total 7851157

Ac-

According to which account our home consumption appears to be about 11,260,659 lb. per annum.

This product of our plantations, carried to Holland, brings considerable profit to that country; besides that, the manufacturing of it, when there, employs a great number of their people: what proportion of it they consume themselves cannot well be stated, but so far is known, that they mix it with the tobacco of their own growth, viz. for France, one-third inland and two-thirds Virginia, making it finer or coarser, and adding to or diminishing the quantity of Virginia, and making some up only with our tobacco-stalks mixed with their own leaves, according to the use of the country whereunto they export it.

I have seen an account, taken in 1706, of the tobacco growing in three provinces, viz. Utrecht, Guelderland, Overijssel, and part of the dutchy of Cleve, which provinces, seven years before, had yielded but eight millions of pounds weight per ann. and they went on, increasing every year the plantation of this commodity, till, in 1706, they came to raise 13 millions of pounds weight, which is near half as much as, by a medium of 10 years, is brought from all our plantations. The account I mention appears to me authentick, and I the rather take notice of it, to shew how much it concerns England not to discourage this commodity by high duties, or by cramping it in the time allowed for draw-backs.

1st, Because it is a plant that may be raised in Europe, as well as in America, and it is not impossible so to improve it as to bring Virginia tobacco out of use abroad.

2dly, It

2dly, It is one of our most considerable re-exportations, and the want of it will be found in the general balance of our trade with other countries.

3dly, Part of the additional duties thereupon laid are funds for several years, and if the importation should diminish, those debts will work off but slowly; besides, her Majesty will find deficient the funds allotted for the maintenance of her civil list.

4thly, If the high duties and other discouragements should bring our West-Indian colonies to lay aside, in any great degree, planting tobacco, they must, for a livelihood, turn their labour and land to some other uses very prejudicial to their mother kingdom.

Without doubt, the duties upon this commodity are so high, and such as put us in danger in a manner to lose this importation, so profitable to the publick, though it is to be feared a small benefit to the planters, for some years last past; but it is continued for so long a term, the fund of security for such large sums, that it will be very difficult to propose expedients whereby the merchants may be eased, and the planter more encouraged. Hereafter, in times of peace, perhaps the wisdom of the parliament may think it proper either to lessen the duties, or to bring part of them nearer to the consumers, so that the merchant may pay, at the importation, a due proportion of the duty, and the rest to be paid by the second buyer, or retailer, at his receiving of his goods; to which may be added, that, generally speaking, when the impositions are excessive, as in this case, where the duties are lessened the importations will increase, and, upon the whole,
I the

the revenues from thence arising will be augmented.

East-India goods.

It is to be wished this honourable board could have an account of the exportations in these commodities for four or five years, antecedent to the first war, and to what countries they were exported. If this could be obtained, it would not be difficult to find a valuation near the truth of the said goods at that season, and from thence a good computation might be made how far, in the general balance of trade, England is a gainer or loser by this branch of our foreign traffick. As the case now stands, Amsterdam and Rotterdam are in a manner the magazines for the wrought silk, Bengal stuffs mixed with silk, or herba of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East-India, and of all callicoes painted, dyed, printed, or stained there, the use of which commodities being prohibited here, are chiefly sent to Holland, this country taking off, by a medium of four years, from Christmas 1701 to Christmas 1705, 94,916*l.* 4*s.* 1*d.* per ann.

Which goods being bought cheap in the Indies, and sold dear in Europe, ought to turn richly to the importers account; but it is to be feared our neighbours make a greater profit from them than England, which sends out its bullion, runs all the hazards of the sea and by-captures, and is at the expence of forts, castles and factories to support this traffick. And our East-India company must deal to this disadvantage, so long as they have, in a manner, but one market for the said commodities; whereas, if they were permitted in our home consumption, we should set the price upon them,

them, and not the Hollanders: and since other countries will have these silks and stuffs, it is certainly more national profit that England should sell them dear than cheap abroad; and as to the price at home, it imports not the nation whether it is high or low, since it is among ourselves.

Whether they interfere or no with our woollen manufactures abroad, shall not be here argued; only so far may be safely advanced, that for these last thirty years, in which the East-India trade has been carried on to the highest pitch, we are not decreased in the manufactures from long wool, but rather the contrary, and to a large degree. Perhaps, indeed, we have not made a proportionable increase in the exports of the fine draperies; however, upon the whole, for these last 23 years, we have no reason to complain as to this principal branch of our exportation, if the entries thereof, made by the merchants, are in any degree near the truth. Nor does it appear to me, from any observation I can make, that East-India goods have hurt the general traffick of our woollen manufactures in foreign markets; these silks and stuffs seem rather a commodity calculated for the middle rank of people; they are too vulgar to be worn by the best sort, and too costly for the lowest rank, so that the use of them remains in the middle rank, who (the luxuries of the world still increasing) would wear European silks if they had not East-India stuffs and painted calicoes, whereby the vent of our woollen goods abroad would certainly be lessened.

The publick should never enter into the endless disputes between merchants dealing to one country and merchants dealing to another, and between the manufactures of one commodity and the manufactures of another, but rather contemplate
I what

what is most advantageous to the whole body of the kingdom, and how the general trade thereof may be enlarged, and to lay aside the narrow notion of such as think to advance the vent of our product, by prohibitions of the goods from other countries; for England never throve by trade but while she was an universal merchant, nor can she recover herself till she falls into her former course of dealings with the commercial world.

There are many still of opinion, that the East-India trade is prejudicial to this kingdom, by exporting every year such quantities of silver; but they do not consider, that, if our re-exportations of East-India commodities had not been so large to Holland and other countries, we must have carried out the species of money for the payment of our armies in those parts, for the over-balance arising from our native product and plantation goods would not have sufficed; which over-balance in the whole, as noted before, to Holland only,

		£.
Amounts to, by a medium of	}	1388102 per ann.
seven years — — —		
Whereof, by a medium of four	}	250317 per ann.
years, the prohibited and		
unprohibited goods, of the		
growth of East-India, carried		
to Holland, are valued at		

And the said goods have not only helped in the remittances for the troops in Holland, but they have been likewise helpful in the balance of trade with several other countries, so that all the bullion exported to carry on this traffick is not lost to England, but, in the circulation of trade, returns with advantage, otherwise we must have been quite

quite exhausted, some time ago, with this long and expensive war.

However, if our East-India commerce has been gainful to us, the Dutch have been sharers to the profit, and so will ever be, so long as the prohibition is continued; besides, their neighbourhood gives them perpetual opportunities of running these commodities into all her Majesty's dominions, whereby they sell dear what they buy cheap from us, to the prejudice of our trade.

It is submitted to wiser heads, whether, instead of a prohibition, it would not be better for the publick to lay a duty of about 30*l.* per cent. upon the wrought silk, Bengals, stuffs mixed with silk, or herba of the manufacture of Persia, China, or East-India, and upon all callicoes painted, dyed, printed or stained there, which are for use at home, however with such a draw-back only upon the re-export as may not hinder exportation, and yet be some bar to running the said goods into several ports of her Majesty's dominions; which new duties are proposed for the following reasons:

1st, So many branches of our consumption are already engaged, that it is very difficult to find out any security to answer the present debts of the kingdom, many of those debts having at present no settled fund; nor can these duties be a burthen upon trade, because they will be in the nature of an excise laid upon the consumptioner.

2dly, To take off the prohibition will encourage the East-India company (whose charter is for a long term of time) to enlarge their trade in the Indies, viz. by making new settlements, and by engaging deeper in the coast-trade than as yet they have thought their interest to do, which will terminate in a greater exportation to those parts,

every year, of the woollen and other English manufactures, infomuch that they may come in time to manage this traffick with carrying out of the kingdom but very little bullion ; and if they can bring this about, the commodities brought from thence, bought at a low rate, and sold well in most of the foreign markets whereunto we deal, will highly contribute to incline the balance of our trade with other countries to the side of England.

3dly, When there shall be two sorts of buyers at the candle, of these goods, viz. those who bid by commission from Holland, and our own linnen-draper and other dealers in those commodities, the Dutch will not have it so much in their power to set their own price upon them, and London, instead of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, will be the great magazine for East-India wares, as heretofore it was ; it being a certain rule, that a people who will be gainers in trade must, as much as possible, have their general warehouse at home, and be their own merchants.

The facts relating to several articles of our exportations to Holland have been here stated, to shew how wrong their notion is, who pronounce, because we carry more to a country of our growth and manufactures than we bring from thence of theirs, that we must always be gainers in the balance of trade with such country. This would indeed hold, if the people with whom we had dealings of this nature consumed among themselves all the merchandize exported to them ; but, as in the case of Holland, where our product and manufactures, our plantation and East-India goods, are the chief materials wherewith they drive their trade with other nations there, the more of these com-

commodities they take from us, the more they enlarge their universal traffick, and consequently increase their riches.

Nothing can be more absurd than to imagine, that the 1,382,102*l.* per ann. the sum, by a medium of seven years, in which we seem to over-balance Holland, is all superlucration to England, arising from the trade we drive with the Seven United Provinces. If such a real over-balance had accrued, a considerable overplus must have been every year returned to us in bullion, as heretofore it was in the gainful traffick we carried on with Spain; whereas, on the contrary, we have exported to Holland above four times more gold and silver, in the last 14 years and 8 months, than to all other European countries; an account whereof follows, viz.

		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Exported	Holland	—	—	656791 7 3
to	Other European countries	140750	0 0	

The truth of the case therefore appears to be, that, especially during this last war (while our trade with France and Spain has been interrupted) large quantities of the woollen manufactures, corn, tin, tobacco, with divers other commodities, have been sent to Holland, which goods, in the former course of trade, we exported directly ourselves, and mostly in our own shipping, to the increase of our navigation, which the war having rendered difficult, and their ports being less exposed than ours to the danger of privateers, as well in ships outward as homeward-bound, the Hollanders have, in a great measure, got to be the carriers of our goods; but as our exports thither have increased all along, so our exports to other parts must, in proportion, have diminished, and what

we seem to have gained by our dealings there, we have lost in the general balance of our trade with other countries: nor is this large exportation in particular to Holland, for these last 23 years, to be looked upon as a certain mark that the trade of this kingdom has had a gradual and natural increase during the said term, and such a one as it enjoyed 30 or 40 years antecedent to the first war; on the contrary, late exports thither seem rather forced, and the effects of divers' antecedents, many of which have not contributed to our advantage. While navigation to other parts was insecure, while we had no trade with France and Spain, and while the business of the war took off our thoughts from trade, and while, at the same time, such vast sums were every year to be drawn from England for the subsistence of the troops abroad, and payment of the subsidies, such as were concerned in the remittances thought Holland the best market for our native product and re-exported goods, and found it their interest to drive thither the whole stream of trade, insomuch that, whereas, in the year 1703,

		£.
The amount of the exports to all foreign parts is valued at	_____	} 6644103
The amount of the exports to Holland singly is valued at	_____	
		} 2417890

Thus almost a third part of our universal exportation terminates in the country, which will thereby be enabled to govern the trade of all Europe, if the channel thereof does not receive some alterations by a peace.

Besides the necessity of remittances to pay the troops, other reasons have contributed to drive such quantities of our product to Holland, which reasons,

reasons, perhaps, will not cease when the war determines. The Dutch, more especially for these eight or nine years last past, have been deeply concerned in all the funds in their own, and in the hands of English and French merchants residing here, and of the Jews; they are known to have considerable sums in the annuities, lotteries, East-India bonds, stocks of the companies, and all the loans that are in course of payment, and the produce of such effects lodged here must be returned to them either in bullion, bills of exchange, or commodities, which will be a constant drain to England, and a weight against us in the balance of trade in that country, so long as the funds continue.

Whether there will be the same demand from Holland for our product and manufactures in time of peace as there has been during the war, is a question few are able to decide. As the case has stood for some time, they have had opportunities so to enlarge their traffick, by the means of our materials, as to render them, perhaps, less weary of the war than some of our neighbours seem to be, war being seldom a burthen to nations that can so conduct their affairs, as in the meanwhile not to have their foreign traffick obstructed. It is true, our exportation for 23 years has been very large, but there has been a long gap with our dealings with Spain, where our profit was certain, and from whence there was a constant over-balance returned to us in bullion; whereas, what superlucration we may have made between the exports of our goods, and the imports of their commodities from Holland, Portugal, Italy, and other countries, have been intercepted from us by the war, and what overplus we may have made has gone to the payment of the troops we main-

tained upon the spot, and the profits arising to us from this mighty exportation have so fallen short towards supporting our whole expences of the war, and carrying on those branches of traffick, which, unavoidably, must be managed with the species of gold and silver, as the East-Land and East-India trades, that, notwithstanding the overbalance which the entries inwards and outwards seemingly give to England, we must, from the beginning of the first war, have exported, by degrees, so much bullion as has impaired us at least nine millions in that sort of wealth.

It is to be hoped peace, and a well-established commercial treaty, will restore trade to its former channels, and when this happens, those exportations will find their way to other countries, with more national profit, which lately have been in a manner confined to Holland; and till trade is in this course, navigation will at best be at a stand, and we shall not increase in our breed of seamen.

I have thus opened the principal heads of our dealings to Holland, and, from the premises, the wisdom of this honourable board will best determine how the balance of trade has lately stood between the two countries, and which nation has probably been the gainer (though the excess of trade seems to be so much on our side, and against Holland) and I have chiefly instanced the year 1703, to avoid prolixity; but the same holds in several years antecedent and subsequent.

As to the principal articles of our imports from Holland, in the year 1703, whereof you have already the particulars, amounting in the whole to 440,209*l.* you may please to observe, that most of them consist of commodities for our own consumption, and which contribute very little towards carrying on our traffick with other countries:

tries: it is true, some of their materials are useful to us in our manufactures; their linnens, which is the highest branch of their importation, amounting to 213,701*l.* are chiefly for our own use, and what linnens we export to our plantations are mostly from the German looms: generally speaking, there is little brought thence which may not as well be had from other countries, and for this reason we may justly insist upon advantageous terms in any future treaty of commerce that shall be made between us and them. If they object the high duties we have been compelled to lay upon their linnens and other commodities, we may object the same to them, for they do, by way of excises upon the consumptioner, impose as much upon our commodities as we do upon theirs by our customs, with this difference, that they raise money for the publick in a manner less hurtful to trade, and more easy to the merchants, than we have yet been able to find out.

But, upon the whole, let us do what we can, the high duties upon our importations will give the Dutch a perpetual advantage in trade over us, till those duties are lessened by time, or by the wisdom of parliament, or till the draw-backs upon re-exportations can be set upon a better foot.

By the statute of tonnage and poundage upon goods and merchandizes imported, and by other subsequent statutes, the merchant, importer, or person buying from him, in case the said goods and merchandizes shall be exported in the times limited by the said several acts, is entitled to the several re-payments, or draw-backs, therein mentioned, and not otherwise. The inconveniencies from hence to the merchants and the publick appear to be,

1st, In case the merchant keeps his goods out of time, they can then be sold only for the home markets, and consequently are, "pro tanto," of lower value than those commodities which are capable of being sold for any market, either at home or abroad.

2dly, The merchant, to avoid this loss, or the risque of it, exports his commodities in time, to entitle himself to the draw-back, for the customs are so high that he will not venture his goods for the home consumption only, and therefore exports them, though he has no certain customer for them abroad, and the rather, by reason that, if the home consumption requires such commodities, he can import them again, paying the duties.

3dly, This manner of exporting lays a great charge upon the merchandize, in freight, insurance, commission, and warehouse room, which two last articles being certainly the advantage of that foreign country whereunto they are exported (which is generally to Holland) and not only so, but this necessity of the merchants so fills that country with our commodities, that they can set their own price upon such goods, as they or others want them.

4thly, The merchant, for want of a speedy market, has often occasion to borrow money upon his goods, which can only be done upon the spot where his effects lie. This carries another benefit to foreigners, and whereof they take unreasonable advantages upon our merchant's elapsing his time of payment.

5thly, The merchant, from this necessity, pays his bonds in debentures, and draws that money from the crown, for which interest is paid by the publick in the loans, and which would otherwise remain with the publick, until he has sold his
goods

goods either for a home or a foreign market; it being likewise demonstrable, that it is better for the merchant to pay interest-money to the publick for the term of his bond, which does not amount to so much as the extraordinary expences and risque in sending them into a foreign warehouse, besides that, in general, it depreciates our commodities, when we are thus compelled to clog the markets abroad with them.

After the draw-backs are made, the customs become in the nature of an excise upon home consumption; it seems therefore to be the interest of England, and what must terminate in making Great-Britain a free port, rather to charge a proportion of the new duties especially on the second vender: but since this course may not be practicable at present, the next best expedient to restore and preserve our trade appears to be, that a larger time for re-exportation should be allowed the merchant, (however, not to dispense with the payment of the duties and customs at the certain times on which they are payable by the respective acts of parliament;) nor could I ever meet with any substantial reasons to be given against this enlargement.

When either of these courses shall effectually be taken, no country will have it in their power to set their own price upon our goods, and England will be the general magazine for many commodities of foreign growth and product, than which nothing can more tend always to incline the balance of trade of our side, and to make this island, as heretofore it was, the most considerable market for bullion.

In

In obedience to that part of your precept which directs me to lay before you in what shipping the exports and imports have been made, I humbly crave leave to offer, that my ledgers make a distinction as to the shipping, whether in English or foreign bottoms; but the articles both of exports and imports are so numerous, that to extract them for any number of years will be the work of much time; I have therefore done it only for one year, between England and Holland, with which year, I believe, the other years held proportion, the grand totals whereof here follow, but a more particular account for the said year you will find in the annexed paper, viz.

		Eng. bottoms.	Foreign bottoms.
		£.	£.
Ann. { imported	to the	289844	232568
1703 { exported	value of	1502169	915720

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING thus laid before you several facts, as I find them stated in my ledgers, which are extracted from the entries made by the merchants of exported and imported goods, I now think it my duty to offer a few words in relation to these accounts, more especially in regard your precept directs me to take notice, whether I have suspected any short and over-entries have been made of woollen manufactures, and of what quantity and value.

Mr. Culliford's office began from Michaelmas 1696, who put the books in the present method: I came in June 1703, and compleated Mr. Culliford's last year's accounts. From the 30th of March 1700, the woollen manufactures went out free of duties, and from that time it was visible there would be a great uncertainty as to the entries outwards of all that sort of goods, and I did my utmost to procure a clause in some act of parliament to oblige the merchant to a certain and regular entry of those commodities, as well as of others paying customs, well foreseeing of what ill consequences it must be to remain in the dark, in so material a branch of our exportation, and upon which the general trade of England turns so much. In order to prevent this mischief, a clause was offered, and very much insisted on in the House of Commons, by Mr. Lowndes, but obstructed by the merchants, for ends not over justifiable, and the clause was not received.

From the time these outward duties were taken off, the merchants have made their entries at pleasure, as well in the out-ports as in London,
but

but generally they have entered greater quantities than were really exported, to carry on some mystery of trade, which, though it might prove of advantage to a few persons here and there, could never be profitable to the publick, in regard it must beget uncertainty in foreign markets, and sometimes occasion a want, and sometimes an overplus of those goods, and it results at last in a trick of the exporters to deceive one another, at which they would not venture when the commodities had such a duty upon them as the merchant could not afford to play with; but to what value those over-entries might amount is not to be computed, for the proper officers, receiving no duties from thence, keep no perfect register as I can find, and large entries are frequently made, when perhaps less quantities are shipped off, which indeed are marked in the body of the cocquets by the Queen's searchers, but no distinct account thereof is kept; so that, in free goods, it is impossible for me to check, or correct, by the searchers books, the entries brought up to my office.

Observing what was transacted, and finding the article of the woollen manufacture exported so much increase every year, and suspecting this might proceed from the fore-mentioned cause, I had an account drawn up, the copy whereof is hereunto annexed, shewing the quantity of the woollen manufactures exported in three years, with the amount of the subsidy duties paid thereupon; as also the quantities of the said goods entered for exportation in three years after the said subsidy duties were taken off, with a computation what the said duties would have amounted to, if the same had been continued; from whence the board may make their own observations how far

far the entries may be thought to exceed the truth : computing by the duties, it is plain that the three last years exceed the three first years as follows, viz.

Three years before the duties were taken off, from Mich. 1696 to Christ. 1700, the subsidy amounted to —	}	£.	s.	d.
		129640	1	3½
Three years after the duties were taken off, from Christ. 1700 to Christ. 1703, the subsidy is computed at —	}	150892	8	5¼

Difference 21252 7 1¾

And the outward duties upon the woollen manufacture being 5 per cent. there was entered for exportation in the three last years, in woollen goods, to the value of 425,040*l.* more than in the three years before the duty was taken off; but whether or no this proceeds from a real increase of our exportations, or from the over-entries of the merchants, as has been observed before) is impossible to determine: however, finding, as far as my books can be made up, that this exportation is every year larger and larger, and that at the same time there is a general complaint all over England, of wool being a drug, I am rather inclined to believe, that there may be over-entries made of the woollen manufacture, not so much in the fine draperies, as in the perpetuanas, serges, says and stuffs, which the board may observe from the six years comparison hereunto annexed.

If it is thought of any consequence to the public to have a yearly view before them how the wool-

lenmanufacture stands, I cannot see how it is be compassed, unless, by some law, the merchants be obliged to make a regular entry of those commodities, and under a penalty, and unless, at the same time, the proper officers by the said act shall be directed to keep an account of the true quantities exported, to which the inspector-general of exports and imports may have recourse, in order to check the entries when they are to be passed in his ledgers.

At a season when there was such a want of funds, as there has been for several years last past, and while there was such a necessity of loading all the importations to England, it is difficult to find a good reason why this small duty of 5*l.* per cent. upon the exports was taken off. They who look upon this proceeding with impartial eyes, must esteem it no better than affectation of popularity; it is true, for the encouraging the exports of your own product and manufactures, they ought to be under easy duties outwards, but at the same time, for encouraging trade in general, the duties inwards ought not to be so high as to render the merchant incapable of carrying on large dealings in the world, and to make the Exchange become a deserved place; and it is well worth the consideration of the wisest heads, whether this free export of the woollen goods, and the bounty upon corn exported, be not rather a profit of our neighbours than to the body of this kingdom.

The board will see, from the annexed paper, that the duties upon the woollen goods, for the three last years, while they paid subsidy, by a medium of the said three years, amounted to 43,213*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.* per ann.

This

This sum laid afresh upon outward goods, and which does not appear to be such a burthen upon trade as the debts of the nation may not render tolerable, would either be a good present fund for money, or may come in aid and ease of some branch of our importation that is over-taxed; and though but half of the former subsidy should be laid, it would be a means to prevent the merchant from over-entries, and bring upwards of 20,000*l.* per ann. to the publick.

In that variety of estimates that have been here offered to this honourable board, it may reasonably be asked, how far the entries and calculations thereof are to be depended on; in which point, without any sort of disguise, I shall deliver my opinion.

As to the entries inwards, I have reason to think there is very little difference between them and those accounts in the Custom-house, whereby the duties are charged and ascertained, except where there is allowances made for damaged and defective goods, which is no such article as will make any material change in the general computations.

As to the entries outwards, I doubt the woollen manufactures are not the only instance of the merchant's entering more than he really shipped off; for though there are some difficulties in the practice, yet, for by-ends to himself, he now and then makes entries and destroys the cocquet. The goods thus entered are perhaps never shipped off, and yet the quantities remain in the bills of entry: but an account of all debentures, goods entituled to a drawback, must of course be kept in the office of the searchers, because they testify in the said debenture the true quantities shipped off. If
the

the merchant makes an entry, as I am informed is frequent, when the ship or vessel, mentioned in his cocquet, is not capable of taking the goods aboard, in such case he is obliged to make a fresh entry, and take out a fresh cocquet.

This practice begets some uncertainty in the entries, however, I have reason to think none very material; but the number of clerks, I am allowed, has never been sufficient to compare and checque the said entries with the searchers books, which if I were enabled to do, the ledgers would be as authentick, to all intents and purposes, as any accounts of this nature can possibly be rendered: and that I might be in a better capacity to perform this service, and for divers other reasons, in the year 1704 I gave a petition to my lord Godolphin, and a memorial to the commissioners of the customs, praying for a greater number of hands, as well for the current service, as to retrospect into the posture of our general trade, for some years antecedent to the first year; but the commissioners of her Majesty's customs did not think fit to make this allowance.

I have annexed to this report the said memorial, to shew there is no blame lies on me, if this honourable board does not find these accounts in that exactness which my natural curiosity leads me to reduce them; and if I am not in such readiness to lay before them the state of our trade with all other countries, as well as with France and Holland; and shall add no more upon this head, but that, if I had been assisted with more hands, you should, by this time, have had an ampler history of our foreign trade.

As to the valuations upon the respective commodities, I have therein followed my worthy predecessor,

deceffor, but have been long inclined to think, that some of our own native products have been over-valued, and that time has made some alteration in the price of foreign commodities; for which reason I have not posted my ledgers for these last four years, contenting myself with registering all the entries of imports and exports in quarterly books, to which I can have recourse, and from whence I can extract accounts upon all occasions, still expecting that peace would fix a more certain price upon all commodities, as well foreign as of home growth, exported and imported.

But suppose there may be some over-entries not corrected and set right with the real quantity exported, it does not shake the reasoning part of what has been here offered, only pro tanto as the value of such over-entries may amount to, which, upon the whole, I take to be inconsiderable, except in the goods not paying duties outwards, whereof the entries may be made certain, if the parliament is desirous to have a true account, from time to time, of the increase or decrease in the woollen manufactures.

From what has been here laid down, it is evident enough, that though, by a medium of seven years, our gross exportations to Holland have been 1,937,934*l.* per ann. and though, by the same medium, our gross importations from thence have been but 549,832*l.* per ann. yet, as to gain, the balance must have been on their side, because they have not carried from us goods only for their own consumption, but materials for their commerce with other countries, insomuch as it may with safety be affirmed, that the same war, which in so many instances has impaired England, must

have brought a vast increase of wealth to the body of their people; and of the several branches of our foreign trade, whilst some of them have been lessened, and others in a manner quite lost, they have enlarged their dealings, and daily become richer and stronger from our supine negligence.

I should not revive antient fears, or endeavour to awaken the thoughts of men upon this subject, were not the facts lying before me convincing proofs, that in some parts they supplant us, in others incroach upon us, and every where outwit us. In the mean time, we have behaved ourselves like a young man born to a great estate, who thinks his condition such, that no expence, and no want of care, can do him hurt, till at last his creditors begin to call in for the mortgages they have upon his land, and till he finds his rents will not answer the interest of what he owes.

A trading country must full as much look after the commerce of trade as the business of the war, otherwise the sinews of the war will soon slacken; but how far we have sacrificed our interest to other considerations, will be seen when we have leisure to look about us, and when peace shall have brought us into wiser and cooler thoughts. To such (and they are not few) as are of opinion that the Dutch have been losers, and we gainers by the war, because of our great exportations, these questions should be offered: How comes it to pass that, for several years, we have been the borrowers and they the lenders? How have they gained the large effects they have in our annuities, and stocks, and all other funds? And whence is it, that, at this instant, the Bank of Amsterdam

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contains

contains more of the species of gold and silver, than perhaps is current over all the rest of Europe, when, at the same time, it is plain, to those who are not resolved to shut their eyes, that we have nine millions less in coin than we had in the year 1688?

After so many millions have been expended, to enlarge the fame and glory of this kingdom, and in carrying on a war with land-armies (so much out of our proper sphere, and beyond our natural strength) it will be seasonable to consider of such ways as may lead to our future safety, and repair the losses England has sustained, by taking wrong measures in the support of this alliance. Our part had been, to have carried on an extended war by sea, and to have distressed the enemy in all their ports at home, and on their West-Indian coast; and we should, in a larger degree, have left to the confederates the care of their own defence by land. The chief expences of fleets are at home among ourselves, and keep our treasure within the kingdom; land armies either carry out money in specie, or, by bills of exchange, intercept the profits arising from trade, which is one and the same thing, and almost equally tends to the impoverishment of a nation: besides that, large subsidies always beget long wars, where they who receive can never be so soon weary of their business as they that are to pay. By land-armies we enrich other countries; by great fleets we cherish and maintain our own people, and protect our trade from the insults of our enemies, and from the encroachments of our allies and friends.

Without arrogating too much to ourselves, we may safely say, and posterity will be of the same

opinion, that the wealth of England has chiefly supported the confederate arms, which wealth was the result of a long and flourishing trade; and what has been exhausted from us, is no other way to be restored, but by taking the same courses whereby it was first gotten. It is not to be denied, but our ancestors were careless in many points, and have suffered our neighbours to get many advantages over us, which a little vigour in the administration might have prevented; but in those days, riches flowed in so fast upon us, that many omissions in the state may be well excused; besides, the power, first of the House of Austria, and then of France, was so formidable, and the Protestant interest so low, as might reasonably induce the ministers of those days to connive at some proceedings of other countries, however prejudicial they might be to the commercial interest of Great-Britain.

But now Spain, in whatever condition of strength a general peace shall leave it, will not, for some ages, be able to do us hurt; and it is manifest enough, the success of the Queen's arms have so interrupted the progress France was making towards universal monarchy, and so broken the French forces, that they will be glad, for many years, not to deviate from the paths of peace: so that, it is to be hoped the calm, which is like to follow such a long storm, may give her Majesty's subjects opportunities to regain the ground they have lost in trade.

There is nothing weaker, than pretending to offer particular rules how a country may thrive by foreign traffick: trade must be suffered to take its own course, and will find its own channel.

nel. If merchants are encouraged, if their interest is asserted with courage in courts abroad, and in all negociations with other countries, and if the duties are not so high as to compel men to withdraw their effects from commerce, a nation that has convenient ports, whose natural genius leads them to sea affairs, who abound in such rich native product of their own, and who have so many hands working for them in their American plantations, can never fail of acquiring wealth by trade, provided that, by negligent or fearful councils, they do not leave room for their neighbours to wrest it from them.

As war has been managed, for these last hundred and fifty years, merely by the power of money, no nation can be accounted safe, or mistress of its liberties, that is not in a condition to contend with its opposites at the weapon they make use of; on the contrary, when it is visible that the strength of a people is wasted, such a people lies exposed to the first invaders that have gathered wealth enough to fit out new fleets, and raise new armies.

They who have been for flattering our distempers, and who have reaped their best harvest from publick poverty, will pretend there is as great a plenty of money in the kingdom as formerly; but such as will take the pains to enquire into the condition of our affairs, will find, from facts not to be confessed, that our species of gold and silver is very much diminished. It is true, we now have, and all along have had, an extensive credit; however, England can never be reckoned entirely safe, till it possesses such a quantity of coin as may

be proof against any sudden emergencies of invasions, new wars, or future breach of treaties, and as may bear some due proportion with paper-credit. But this is only to be expected from time and the enlargement of trade, to which the immense stock we have in paper-credit will contribute; and this stock may be well looked upon to be so considerable, as to enable us hereafter to cope with our wealthy neighbours, it being as transferable as money in the Bank of Amsterdam, and will be thought to have as much intrinsic value, when we have the prospect of a lasting peace.

But to give these things a fixed price, to promote navigation, to encrease our seamen, to make this kingdom rich in reality, as well as in opinion, and to bring in bullion, all our endeavours must tend to the advancement of our trade.

The world is large enough to employ the industry and wealth of both nations; and since the expence of this long war is like chiefly to terminate in rendering the Dutch secure, by a strong barrier against the power of France, they cannot, by the rules of equity, complain of any measures we shall hereafter take for our own preservation, and to recover those branches of our traffick which the war has either lost or interrupted.

It would be too tedious here to take notice, in what parts of foreign trade we have, from time to time, been supplanted by our neighbours, and particularly since the very time our arms and councils have been chiefly employed in maintaining the common cause; but, as occasion shall offer itself, in treating of the
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the dealings between England and other countries, I shall, in obedience to their precept, lay what has occurred to me before this honourable board.

It is not reasonable to differ with another country because their conduct has been better and wiser than yours ; but we are to correct our own errors by their wisdom : our future business, therefore, will be to oppose industry with industry, and to set up tenaciousness, in what relates to interest against the same principle, when we see it is in others the only rule whereby they govern all their Actions.

When we find our neighbours enterprizing, vigilant, and jealous in whatever has relation to their trade ; and when we observe them still endeavouring to get ground, and never yielding any point to us, but forming long schemes, calculated to take effect many years to come, in order to enlarge themselves at our expence, it will become good patriots to look about them, and to take care lest in time England should be in a manner excluded from the commercial World.

Whenever we lose our trade, we must bid farewell to that wealth and strength which have hitherto enabled us to preserve our liberties, against the designs of Spain and France, the two greatest monarchies that have been erected since the declension of the Roman empire ; want of due circumspection in a point so essential to the existence of this kingdom, may, perhaps, in less than an age, reduce us to be the prey of some conquerors, notwithstanding our large estates in land, the fertility of our soil, the richness of our product, and the convenience of our

ports, which natural advantages, if not well made use of, and directed, instead of becoming a defence, are rather so many motives to invite over invaders of a country which suffers its naval strength, the effect of trade, and of trade only, so to languish as to be no longer in a posture to defend itself.

From what has been opened in the whole Series of this report, the board will be the best judges, whether the English or Dutch have been gainers in the balance of those vast dealings that of late years have been between us: the facts have been here set down with sincerity and truth, in which it is humbly left for others to determine.

But if we have been losers there, or if there is a sensible decay in other branches of our traffick, proper remedies should be applied to a Disease that may grow so fatal to a commonwealth.

If Holland is become, in too extensive a degree, the warehouse and general-magazine of our corn, plantation, and East-India goods, it is not impossible to obviate that mischief.

1st, By encouraging the erection of public grainaries in several parts of this kingdom.

2dly, By enlarging the time for drawbacks on tobacco, sugars, and several other American commodities.

3dly, By taking off the prohibition that now lies upon the East-India and Persian silks and stuffs, and not to drive them thus to Amsterdam and Rotterdam: perhaps an experiment of four or five years would plainly demonstrate that the wear of them would not so much hurt us at home in the consumption of our woollen manufactures, as the vent of them abroad interferes

feres with the sale of our woollen goods in foreign markets.

To be in a lasting condition to cope with the Dutch in trade, we must, as well in time of peace as war, have a fleet in readiness strong enough, upon all occasions, vigorously to assert our dominion of the Sea: trade has been ever observed to follow power, and to be influenced by it. That nation which has the best navy will have the most merchant-ships resorting to it for profit or protection; and in such a posture you are courted by your friends, and terrible to your rivals. No profession of men sooner feel the effects of national increase, or decrease in reputation, than merchants. If your country is thought weak, declining, and afraid to resent injuries, you are oppressed and over-borne by all that have dealings with you, who are apt to despise the base, though they get by them; on the contrary, when a nation is esteemed powerful, and tenacious of the point, as well of honour as of interest, they are countenanced by princes, let them be never so remote, their factors every where commanding the market. And it is remarkable, the French could never obtain to have the business of their commerce well settled at the Ottoman-Porte, till the year 1673, when their successes made such a noise throughout Europe. The fame of England has been advanced to such a height, during the last War, that the trading men will hereafter taste their proportion of benefit by it, if our maritime affairs are not neglected.

The way to retrieve what we may have lost, is not to offer affronts, or to make ill-grounded cavils, or to renew absolute pretensions, much less

less to come to an open breach with any of our neighbours. We should rather endeavour to restore our trade to its former condition, by strong and steady councils, such as may demonstrate to the world, that we are rather desirous to preserve ourselves than to disturb others; and so to temper our proceedings with those between whom and us future disputes may happen to arise, as to give constant proofs, that we can adhere to national interest, without making any step prejudicial to the common concerns of religion, which should always link together Great-Britain and the United Provinces; but at every turn to sacrifice the national interest to what folly, or faction, is pleased to call the common-concern of religion, rather argues fear and weakness in the state, than the piety and wisdom in the rulers.

When our neighbours are plainly discerned to engross any foreign business, though to our prejudice; this working by the rules of justice, can never be deemed a sufficient ground of quarrel: For trade in some sense, is *Fere nature et primi occupaulis*; and whenever we neglect any branch of it, it becomes a derelict, which the first approacher may legally take into his own possession: however, let such transactions be called incroachments, or unkind intrusions, they should always be composed in such a friendly manner, as to avoid an immediate breach, and to prevent sowing the seeds of future wars.

It would be thought absurd if one neighbour should differ with another, for being more frugal, vigilant, active, and consequently to thrive better than himself: on the contrary, he is to emulate this man, and as near as possible, to square
his

his own actions by those rules which he finds have made the other prosperous : this likewise holds between countries that are rivals in the same mysteries ; and if you will ever pretend to out-do the Dutch in trade, we must practice several of their virtues, and lay aside many of our own vices.

It is not yet come to my knowledge what extent of territory, or addition of people, the late conquests in Flanders (secured by the treaty of barrier) have brought to Holland, nor am I well enough apprized, of the nature of the soil, to form any conjecture, how far their new acquisitions may dispose them to interfere with us in the woollen manufactures ; but this must be evident, that nothing was wanting to compleat the greatness of this nation but elbow-room for their industry to work in ; if the soil or turf be proper for the breed of sheep, or if their new dominions lie contiguous to countries from whence wool may now at present or hereafter, be fetched : this dangerous competition in a commodity upon which the kingdom so much depends may give England very just fears.

It may not be amiss in this place to shew the board what a proportion the woollen manufactures bear to all other exports whatsoever, and in this comparison I shall pitch upon a year before the subsidy duties were taken off, and which therefore is less liable to the suspicion of false or over-entries.

Our

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Our general exports for the Year 1699, are valued at———	6,788,166	17	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Whereof the woollen manufactures for the same year, are valued at———	2,932,292	17	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

From this account, which in all probability may be relied on, it appears that our woollen goods are above a third of our universal exports: nor is it necessary to urge any other arguments to prove how much it concerns England to be jealous in this point, and watchful over this staple, wherein any considerable decay would affect the whole body of the people. It is difficult to judge how far a populous and fertile country, so abounding in ships, and whose inhabitants are frugal and industrious, and who have formed such a powerful dominion, as is now composed by the addition of so large a part of Flanders, to the seven United Provinces, may carry the improvement of this commodity, especially since it daily grows more and more visible than other countries, besides her majesty's kingdoms, afford wool proper for common use: and where there are such numbers intent upon, and subsisting by manufacture, they will easily find materials for it.

But though our neighbours should continue to prefer the interest of their trafficks to all other considerations, and though they should persist to enlarge their foreign business to our detriment, yet the mischief is yet without a remedy, and it will always be within our power to give ourselves satisfaction for any injuries of this nature they shall be observed to offer, and this may be done

done without coming to any of those extremities, to which commonly nations have recourse, where one is seen to undermine the other.

First of all upon the settlements of a peace, in all future treaties of commerce we shall make with other countries, we are to fence particularly against the arts and incroachments of the Dutch, who, beyond all disputes, are our most dangerous rivals in trade; we must bear a watchful eye over all their proceedings, and never yield to them in any point wherein national interest and profit is concerned; nor can the princes confederated in this long war justly find fault with such conduct, since the heavy load of debts lying upon us considered, it will be as impossible for England to subsist under any great decay of the woollen manufacture, or under any considerable interruption in several branches of our foreign commerce, as it would be impossible for the Dutch to maintain themselves without their herring fishery, or that part of their East-India trade they now stand possessed of; so that if they will not be contented to live and let live, and bear themselves towards us hereafter in a friendly manner, and cease to undermine us in every part of the commercial world, we must resort in the declension of our wealth to that relief, which the British seas at all times will have ready for us; and we must in good earnest undertake the herring fishery, which will give full employment as well to the rich as to the poor. I shall here add some words of the judicious writer Mr. Muns.

I will deliver my opinion concerning our clothing, which although it be the greatest wealth, and best employment to the poor of this kingdom, yet nevertheless we may, peradventure, employ
our-

ourselves with better safety, plenty, and profit in using more tillage and fishing, than to trust so wholly to the making of cloth, for in times of war, or by other occasions, if some foreign princes should prohibit the use thereof in their dominions, it might suddenly cause much poverty, and dangerous uproars, especially by our poor people, when they shall be deprived of their maintenance which cannot so easily fail them, when their labours shall be divided into the said diversity of employments, whereby also many thousands would be the better able to do good service in occasion of war, especially by sea.

It would not be difficult to prove, that notwithstanding the difference of interest money between 4 and 6 per cent. our situation and other natural advantages will at all times render us superior in this trade, now more especially, that England and Scotland are united; for before the union, it could never be properly said we had a herring fishery.

Mr. Muns, who wrote not long after the restoration, and always states his facts with great fidelity, values the exportation of fish in his time at 140,000l. per annum, but our present accounts fall short of this sum. It is true, by a medium of five years from 1696 to 1701, inclusive, the exports of fish amounted to 132,849l. per annum; however, this account was not natural, but rather seems to have proceeded from the great drawbacks allowed them upon salt, for till that way of deceiving the public began to be put into practice, which was about 1698, the entries amounted to but about 52,400l. per annum, and began again to diminish, when some regulations were made in the said drawbacks, so that from 1699
to

to 1709, the medium of exportation for the said 10 years, has been 77,115*l.* per annum, which is little more than half of what was exported 50 years ago : it must indeed be granted, that several of our neighbours have enlarged their fishing for cod ; but whether they have not made this improvement by our negligence is left for others to determine.

I shall not at present farther enlarge upon this subject, designing in some other report to lay the fishing-trade before this honourable board ; but in regard this may happen to be the subject of debate in parliament, I have hereunto annexed an account of the quality, quantity, and value of all sorts of fish exported from England, and to what parts beyond sea, for ten distinct years.

The variety and intricasy of this subject have rendered this report longer than I expected, for which, I ought to ask the pardon of a board whose time is taken up in matters of so much more importance than I am able to lay before them.

All which is humbly submitted by

Charles Davenant.

Inspector General's Office,
December 10, 1711.

F I N I S.

to 1850, the medium of exportation for the said
years, has been about 100 per annum, which is
little more than half of what was exported 20
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December 10, 1711

Agd. at the Council

at White Hall

1711

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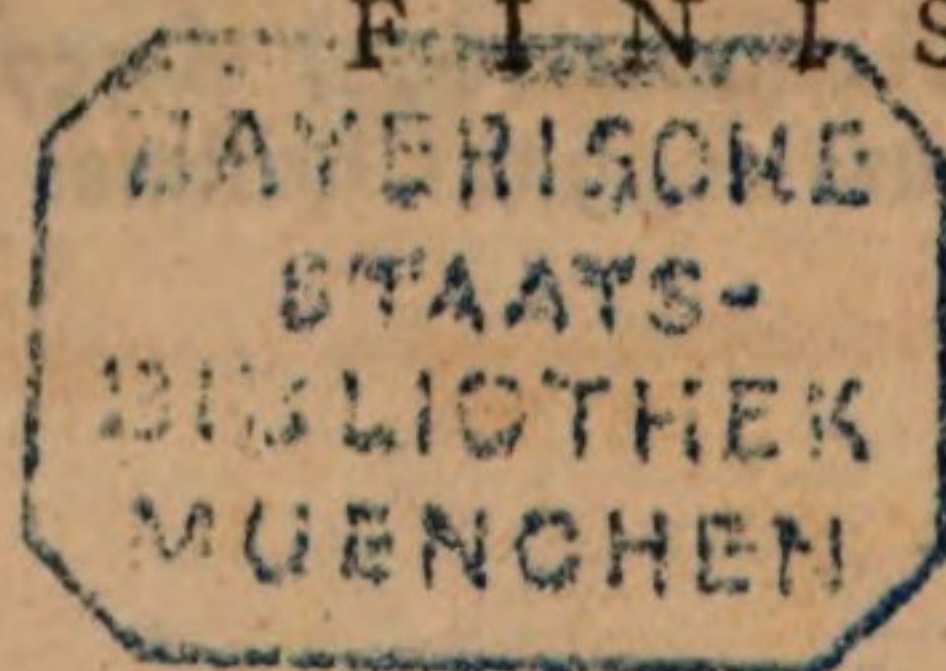
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